The right Hon.ble Robert Dudley Earle of Leicester, Baron of Denbigh, knight of the noble order of S.t George & S.t Michall, and late one of her Ma.tics ho.ble privy counsell etc.

W Marshall sculpsit.

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LEICESTER'S COMMON-WEALTH.

Conceived, ſpoken and publiſhed with moſt earneſt proteſtation of dutifull good-will and affection towards this Realme.

By

ROBERT PARSONS
Jeſuite.

WHEREUNTO IS ADDED
Leiceſters-Ghoſt.

JOB, 20. 27.
The Heavens ſhall reveale his Iniquitie, and the Earth ſhall riſe up againſt him.

LONDON,
Printed *Anno Dom.* MDCXLI.

THE EPISTLE DIRECTORY,

TO

M. G. M. In Gratious Street in *London*.

Deare and loving friend, I received about tenne daies agon your letter of the 9. of this present: wherein you demand and solicite againe the thing, that I so flatly denied you, at my late being in your chamber: I meane to put in writing the relation which then I made unto you, of the speech had this last Christmas in my presence, betweene my right worshipfull good friend and patron, and his guest the old Lawyer, of some matters in our state and country. And for that you presse me very seriously at this instant, both by request and many reasons, to yeeld to your desire herein, and not only this, but also to give my consent for the publishing of the same, by such secret meanes as you assure me

you can there find out: I have thought good to confer the whole matter with the parties themſelves, whom principally it concerneth (who at the receipt of your letter were not far from me:) And albeit at the firſt I found them averſe and nothing inclined to grant your demand: yet after upon conſideration of your reaſons, and aſſurance of ſecreſie (eſpecially for that there is nothing in the ſame contained, repugnant to charity or to our bounden duty towards our moſt gratious Princes or Countrey, but rather for the ſpeciall good of them both, and for the forewarning of ſome dangers imminent to the ſame) they have referred over the matter to mee, yet with this Proviſo, *that they will know nothing, nor yet yeeld conſent to the publiſhing hereof, for feare of ſome future flouriſh of the ragged Staffe to come hereafter about their eares, if their names ſhould breake forth: which (I truſt) you will provide ſhall neuer happen, both for their ſecurity, and for your own. And with this I will end, aſſuring you that within theſe five or ſix dayes, you ſhall receive the whole in writing by another way and ſecret meanes, neither ſhall the bearer ſuſpect what he carrieth: wherof alſo I thought good to premoniſh you. And thus ſhall ſuffice for this time.*

THE

THE PREFACE OF THE CONFERENCE.

Ot long before the last Christmasse, I was requested by a letter from a very worshipful and grave Gentleman, whose sonne was then my pupill in *Cambridge*, to repaire with my said Scholar to a certaine house of his neare *London*, and there to passe over the Holy-dayes in his company: for that it was determined that in *Hillary* tearme following, his said sonne should be placed in some Inne of Chancery, to follow the study of the Common-law, and so to leave the Vniversity. This request was gratefull unto mee in respect of the time, as also of the matter, but especially of the company. For that, as I love much the yong Gentelman, my pupill, for his towardlines in religion, learning, and vertue: so much more I doe reverence his Father, for the riper

Scholar.

The occasion of this conference and meeting.

poſſeſſion of the ſame ornaments, and for his great wiſedome, experience, and grave judgement in affaires of the world that do occurre: but namely touching our own Country, wherin truly I do not remember to have heard any man in my life, diſcourſe more ſubſtantially, indifferently, and with leſſe paſſion, more love and fidelity, then I have heard him. Which was the cauſe that I tooke ſingular delight to be in his company, and refuſed no occaſion to enjoy the ſame. Which alſo he perceiving, dealt more openly and confidently with me, then with many other of his friends, as by the relation following may well appeare.

The perſons and place of this conference.

When I came to the foreſaid Houſe by *London*, I found there among other friends, an ancient man that profeſſed the law, and was come from *London* to keepe his Chriſtmas in that place, with whom at divers former times I had been well acquainted, for that he haunted much the company of the ſaid Gentleman my friend, and was much truſted and uſed by him in matters of his profeſſion, and not a little beloved alſo for his good converſation, notwithſtanding ſome difference in religion between us. For albeit, this Lawyer was inclined to

be

be a Papiſt, yet was it with ſuch moderation and reſervation of his duty towards his Prince and Countrey and proceedings of the ſame: as he ſeemed alwaies to give full ſatisfaction in this point to us that were of contrary opinion.

A temperate Papiſt.

Neither did he let to proteſt oftentimes with great affection, that as he had many friends & kinsfolk of contrary religion to himſelfe: ſo did he love them nevertheleſſe for their different conſcience, but leaving that to God, was deſirous to doe them any friendſhip or ſervice that he could, with all affection, zeale, and fidelity. Neither was he wilfull or obſtinate in his opinion, and much leſſe reproachfull in ſpeech (as many of them be) but was content to heare whatſoever we ſhould ſay to the contrary (as often we did:) and to read any booke alſo that we delivered him, for his inſtruction.

Which temperate behaviour, induced this Gentleman and me, to affect the more his company, and to diſcourſe as freely with him in all occurrents, as if he had been of our own religion.

THE ENTRANCE TO THE MATTER.

ONe day then of the Christmasse, we three returing our selves after dinner, into a large Gallery, for our recreation, (as often wee were accustomed to doe, when other went to card's & others pastimes:) this Lawyer by chance had in his hand a little booke, then newly set forth, containing *A defence of the publique Iustice done of late in England, upon divers Priests and other Papistes for treason*: Which book, the Lawyer had read to himselfe a little before, and was now putting it up into his pocket; But the Gentleman my friend, who had read over the same once or twice in my company before, would needs take the same into his hand againe, and asked the Lawyer his judgement upon the booke. The booke of Iustice.

The Lawyer answered: That it was evill penned in his opinion to prove the guiltines of some persons therin named in particular, as also to perswade in generall, that the Papistes both abroad and at home, who meddle so earnestly with defence and increase of their religion (for these are not all, said he) doe consequently wish and labour some change in the state: but yet whether so farre forth, and in so deepe a degree of proper treason, as here in this booke both in gene- *Lawyer.*

generall and particular is presumed and inforced, that (quoth he) is some what hard (I weene) for you or me (in respect of some other difference between us) to judge or discerne with indifferency.

Gentleman. Nay truly said the Gentleman, for my part I thinke not so, for that reason is reason in what religion soever. And for my selfe, I may protest, that I beare the honest Papist (if there be any) no malice for his deceived conscience, wherof among others your selfe can be a witnes: mary his Practices against the state, I cannot in any wise digest: and much lesse may the Common-wealth beare the same (wherof we all depend,) being a sinne of all other, the most hainous, and least pardonable. And therfore seeing in this, you grant the Papist both in generall abroad, and at home, and in particular such as are condemned, executed and named in this booke to be guilty: how can you insinuate (as you doe) that there is more presumed or enforced upon them by this booke, then there is just cause so to doe?

The Papists practices against the state.

Lawyer. Good Sir, said the other, I stand not here to examine the doings of my superiours, or to defend the guilty, but with hartily rather their punishment that have deserved the same. Only this I say, for explication of my former speech: that men of a different religion from the state wherin they live, may be said to deale against the same state in two sorts: the one, by dealing for the increase of their said different religion, which is alwaies either directly, or indirectly against the state, (Directly) when the said religion containeth any point or article directly impugning the said state, (as perhaps you will say that the Roman Religion doth against the present state of England in the point of Supremacy:) and (Indirectly) for that every different religion divideth in a sort and draw-

Two sorts of dealing against the state.

Directly.

Indirectly.

draweth from the ſtate, in that there is no man who in his heart would not wiſh to have the chief Governour and ſtate to be of his religion, if he could: and conſequently miſliketh the other in reſpect of that: and in this kind, not only thoſe whom you call buſie Papiſts in England, but alſo thoſe whom we call hot Puritans among you, (whoſe difference from the ſtate eſpecially in matters of governement is very well known) may be called all traytors, in mine opinion: for that every one of theſe indeed, do labour indirectly, (if not more) againſt the ſtate, in how much ſoever each one endeavoureth to increaſe his part or faction that deſireth a Governour of his own religion.

The ſtate of all Subiects is a ſtate of different religion.

And in this caſe alſo, are the Proteſtants in France and Flanders under Catholike Princes: the Calviniſts (as they are called;) under the Duke of Saxony, who is a Lutheran: the Lutherans under *Caſimere*, that favoureth Calviniſts: the Grecians and other Chriſtians under the Emperor of Conſtantinople, under the Sophy, under the great Chame of Tartary, and under other Princes that agree not with them in religion. All which Subjects doe wiſh (no doubt) in their hearts, that they had a Prince and ſtate of their owne religion, inſtead of that which now governeth them: and conſequently in this firſt ſenſe, they may be called all traytors, and every act they doe for advancement of their ſaid different religion (dividing between the ſtate and them) tendeth to treaſon: which their Princes ſuppoſing, do ſometimes make divers of their acts treaſonable or puniſhable for treaſon. But yet ſo long as they breake not forth unto the ſecond kind of treaſon which containeth ſome actuall attempt or treaty againſt the life of the Prince, or ſtate, by rebellion or otherwiſe: Wee doe not properly condemne them

The ſecond kind of treaſon.

them for traytors, though they doe some acts of their religion made treason by the Prince his lawes, who is of a different faith.

The application of the former example.

And so to apply this to my purpose: I thinke, Sir, in good sooth, that in the first kind of treason, as well the zealous Papist, as also the Puritans in England, may well be called and proved traytors; but in the second sort (whereof wee speake properly at this time) it cannot be so precisely answered, for that there may be both guilty and guiltles in each religion. And as I cannot excuse all Puritans in this point, so you cannot condemne all Papists, as long as you take me and some other to be as we are.

Gentleman.

I grant your distinction of treasons to be true, (said the Gentleman,) as also your application thereof to the Papists and Puritans (as you call them,) not to want reason, if there be any of them that mislike the present state (as perhaps there be:) albeit for my part, I thinke these two kinds of treasons, which you have put down, be rather divers degrees then divers kinds: wherin I will refer mee to the judgement of our Cambridge friend here present, whose skill is more in logicall distinctions. But yet my reason is this, that indeed the one is but a step or degree to the other, not differing in nature, but rather in time, ability or oportunity. For if (as in your former examples you have shewed) the Grecians under the Turke, and other Christians under other Princes of a different religion, and as also the Papists and Puritans (as you tearme them) in England (for now this word shall passe betweene us for distinction sake,) have such alienation of mind from their present regiment, and doe covet so much a governour and state of their owne religion: then no doubt but they are also

Two degrees of treason.

resolved to imply their forces for accomplishing and bringing to passe their desires, if they had oportunity: and so being now in the first degree or kind of treason, doe want but occasion or ability, to breake into the second.

True Sir, said the Lawyer, if there be no other cause or circumstance that may withhold them. *Lawyer.*

And what cause or circumstance may stay them I pray you (said the Gentleman) when they shall have ability and oportunity to doe a thing which they so much desire? *Gentleman.*

Divers causes (quoth the Lawyer) but especially and above all other (if it be at home in their owne Country) the fear of servitude under forraine nations, may restraine them from such attempts: as we see in Germany that both Catholiques and Protestants would joyne together, against any stranger that should offer danger to their liberty. And so they did against *Charles* the fifth. And in France not long agoe, albeit the Protestants were up in armes against their King, and could have been content, by the help of us in England, to have put him down, and placed another of their own religion: yet when they saw us once seazed of New haven, and so like to proceed to the recovery of some part of our states on that side the Sea: they quickly joyned with their owne Catholiques againe to expell us. *Lawyer.* *France.*

In Flanders likewise, though Monsieur were called thither by the Protestants, especially for defence of their religion, against the Spaniard: yet we see how dainty divers chief protestants of Antwerp, Gaunt, and Bruges were, in admitting him, and how quick in expelling, so soon as he put them in the least feare of subjection to the French. *Flanders.*

And as for Portugall, I have heard some of the chiefest *Portugal.*

chiefeſt Catholiques among them ſay, in this late contention about their Kingdome: that rather then they would ſuffer the Caſtilian to come in upon them, they would be content to admit whatſoever aids of a contrary religion to themſelves, and to adventure whatſoever alteration in religion or other inconvenience might befall them by that means rather then endanger their ſubjection to their ambitious neighbour.

The old hatred of East Grecians towards the West Latine.

The like is reported in divers hiſtories of the Grecians at this day, who doe hate ſo much the name and dominion of the Latines: as they had rather to endure all the miſeries which dayly they ſuffer under the Turke for their religion and otherwiſe: then by calling for aid from the Weſt to hazard the ſubjection to the ſaid Latines. So that by theſe examples you ſee, that feare and horrour of externall ſubjection may ſtay men in ſtates, and conſequently alſo both Papiſts and Puritans in the ſtate of England, from paſſing to the ſecond kind or degree of treaſon, albeit they were never ſo deepe in the firſt, and had both ability, time, will, and oportunity for the other.

Scholar. Here I preſumed to interrupt their Speech, and ſaid: that this ſeemed to mee moſt cleare, and that now I underſtood what the Lawyer meant before, when he affirmed, that albeit the moſt part of Papiſts in generall might be ſaid to deale againſt the ſtate of England at this day, in that they deal ſo earneſtly for the maintenance and increaſe of their religion, and ſo to incurre ſome kind of treaſon: yet (perhaps) not ſo far-forth nor in ſo deepe a degree of proper treaſon as in this booke is preſumed or inforced: though for my part (ſaid I) I do not ſee that the book preſumeth or inforceth all Papiſts in generall to be properly

Not all Papiſts propeply traytors.

perly traytors, but onely such as in particular are therein named, or that are by law attainted, condemned or executed: and what will you say (quoth I) to those in particular?

Surely (quoth he) I must say of these, much after the manner which I spake before: that some here named in this book are openly knowne to have beene in the second degree or kind of treason: as *Westmerland*, *Norton*, *Sanders*, and the like. But divers others (namely the Priests and Seminaries that of late have suffered,) by so much as I could see delivered and pleaded at their arraignements, or heard protested by them at their deaths, or gathered by reason and discourse of my selfe, (for that no forraine Prince or wise councellor would ever commit so great matters of state to such instruments:) I cannot (I say) but thinke, that to the wise of our state, that had the doing of this busines, the first degree of treason (wherein no doubt they were) was sufficient to dispatch and make them away: especially in such suspitious times as these are: to the end that being hanged for the first, they should never bee in danger to fall into the second, nor yet to draw other men to the same: which perhaps was most of all misdoubted. *Lawyer.* *The Priests and Seminaries that were executed.*

After the Lawyer had spoken this, I held my peace, to heare what the Gentle man would answer: who walked up and down two whole turnes in the Gallery without yeelding any word again: and then staying upon the sudden, cast his eyes sadly upon us both, and said: *Gentleman.*

My masters, howsoever this be which indeed appertaines not to us to judge or discus, but rather to perswade our selves, that the state hath reason to do as it doth, and that it must oftentimes as well

prevent

prevent inconveniences, as remedy the same when they are happened: yet for my owne part I must confesse unto you, that upon some considerations which use to come unto my mind, I take no small griefe of these differences among us (which you terme of divers and different religions) for which we are driven of necessity to use discipline toward divers, who possibly otherwise would be no great malefactors. I know the cause of this difference is grounded upon a principle not easie to cure, which is the judgement and conscience of a man, whereunto obeyeth at length his will and affection, whatsoever for a time he may otherwise dissemble outwardly. I remember your speech before of the doubtfull and dangerous inclination of such as live discontented in a State of a different religion, especially, when either in deed, or in their owne conceipt, they are hardly dealt withall, and where every mans particular punishment is taken to reach to the cause of the whole.

The considerations.

I am not ignorant how that misery procureth amity, and the opinion of calamity moveth affection of mercy and compassion, even towards the wicked: the better fortune alway is subject to envie, and he that suffereth, is thought to have the better cause; my experience of the divers reignes and proceedings of King *Edward*, Queene *Mary*, and of this our most gracious Soveraigne hath taught me not a little, touching the sequell of these affairs. And finally (my good friends) I must tell you plaine (quoth he, and this he spake with great asseveration) that I could wish with all my heart, that either these differences were not among us at all, or else that they were so temperately on al parts pursued, as the common state of our country, the blessed reigne of her Majesty, and the common cause of true religion were not endan-

Misery moveth mercy.

A good wish.

gered

gered thereby. But now: and there he brake off, and turned asyde.

The Lawyer seeing him hold his peace and depart, he stepped after him, and taking him by the gowne, said merrily; Sir, all men are not of your complexion, some are of quicker and more stirring Spirits, and doe love to fish in water that is troubled, for that they doe participate the Blackmoores humour, that dwell in *Guinea* (whereof I suppose you have heard and seene also some in this Land) whose exercise at home is (as some write) the one to hunt, catch, and sell the other, and alwayes the stronger to make money of the weaker for the time. But now if in England we should live in peace and unity of the state, as they doe in Germany, notwithstanding their differences of Religion, and that the one should not prey upon the other: then should the great Faulcons for the Field (I meane the favourites of the time) faile whereon to feed, which were an inconvenience as you know.

Lawyer.

The nature and practice of the Guineans.

Truly Sir, said the Gentleman, I thinke you rove nearer the marke then you weene: for if I be not deceived; the very ground of much of these broiles whereof we talke, is but a very prey: not in the minds of the Prince or State (whose intentions no doubt be most just and holy) but in the greedy imagination and subtile conceit of him, who at this present in respect of our sinnes, is permitted by God, to tyrannize both Prince and State: and being himselfe of no religion, feedeth notwithstanding upon our differences in religion, to the fatting of himselfe and ruine of the Realm. For whereas by the common distinction now received in speech, there are three notable differences of religion in the Land, the two extreams, whereof are the Papist and the Puritan, and the

Gentleman.

The Tyrant of English state.

Three differences of religion in England.

religious Protestant obtaining the meane: this fellow being neither, maketh his gaine of all: and as he seeketh a Kingdome by the one extreame, and spoile by the other: so he useth the authority of the third, to compasse the first two, and the counter-mine of each one, to the overthrow of all three.

Scholar. To this I answered: In good sooth Sir, I see now where you are: you are fallen into the common place of all our ordinary talke and conference in the Universi y: for I know that you meane my Lord of *Leycester*, who is the subject of all pleasant discourses at this day throughout the Realme.

The Earle of Leycester.

Gentleman. Not so pleasant as pittifull, answered the Gentleman, if all matters and circumstances were wel considered, except any man take pleasure to jest at our owne miseries, which are like to be greater by his iniquity (if God avert it not) then by al the wickednesse of England besides: he being the man that by all probability, is like to be the bane and fatall destiny of our State, with the eversion of true religion, whereof by indirect meanes, he is the greatest enemy that the Land doth nourish.

Lawyer. Now verily (quoth the Lawyer) if you say thus much for the Protestants opinion of him, what shall I say for his merits towards the Papists? who for as much as I can perceive, doe take themselves little beholding unto him, albeit for his gaine he was some yeeres their secret friend against you: untill by his friends he was perswaded, and chiefly by the Lord *North* by way of policy, as the said Lord boasteth, in hope of greater gaine, to step over to the Puritans, against us both, whom notwithstanding it is probable, that he loveth as much, as he doth the rest.

The Lord North his policy.

You

You know the Beares love, said the Gentleman, which is all for his own panch, and so this Bear-whelp, turneth all to his own commodity, and for greedinesse thereof, will overturn all if he be not stopped or muzled in time. *Gentleman.*

And surely unto me it is a strange speculation, whereof I cannot pick out the reason (but onely that I do attribute it to Gods punishment for our sinnes) that in so wise and vigilant a State as ours is, and in a Countrey so well acquainted and beaten with such dangers; a man of such a Spirit as he is knowne to be, of so extreme ambition, pride, falshood and trechery; so borne, so bred up, so nozled in treason from his infancy, descended of a tribe of traytours, and fleshed in conspiracy against the Royall blood of King *Henries* children in his tender yeeres, and exercised ever since in drifts against the same, by the blood and ruine of divers others: a man so well knowne to beare secret malice against her Majesty, for causes irreconcileable, and most dradly rancour against the best and wisest Councellours of her Highnesse: that such a one (I say so hatefull) to God and man, and so markeable to the simplest Subject of this Land, by the publique ensignes of his tyrannous purpose, should be suffered so many yeeres without checke, to aspire to tyranny by most manifest wayes, and to possesse himselfe (as now he hath done) of Court, Councell and Countrey, without controlement: so that nothing wanteth to him but onely his pleasure, and the day already conceived in his minde to dispose as he list, both of Prince, Crown, Realm and Religion. *A strange speculation.*

It is much truly (quoth I) that you say, and it ministreth not a little mervaile unto many, whereof your Worship is not the first, nor yet the tenth *Scholar.*

The Queens Majesties most excellent good nature.

person of accompt which I have heard discourse and complaine. But what shall I say hereunto? there is no man that ascribeth not this unto the singular benignity and most bountifull good nature of her Majesty, who measuring other men by her owne Heroicall and Princely sincerity; cannot easily suspect a man so much bounden to her grace, as he is, nor remove her confidence from the place, where she hath heaped so infinite benefits.

Gentleman.

No doubt (said the Gentleman) but this gracious and sweet disposition of her Majesty is the true originall cause thereof: which Princely disposition, as in her highnesse it deserveth all rare commendation, so lyeth the same open to many dangers oftentimes, when so benigne a nature meeteth with ingrate and ambitious persons: which observation perhaps, caused her Majesties most noble Grandfather and Father (two renowned wise Princes) to withdraw sometime upon the sudden, their great favour from certaine Subjects of high estate. And her Majesty may easily use her owne excellent wisdome and memory, to recall to minde the manifold examples of perilous haps fallen to divers Princes, by too much confidence in obliged proditours: with whom the name of a Kingdome, and one houres reigne, weyeth more, then all the duty, obligation, honesty, or nature in the world. Would God her Majesty could see the continuall feares that be in her faithfull Subjects hearts, whiles that man is about her noble person, so well able and likely (if the Lord avert it not) to be the calamity of her Princely blood and name.

Feares that subiects have of my Lord of Leicester

Sir Francis Walsingham.

The talke will never out of many mouthes and minds, that divers ancient men of this Realme, and once a wise Gentleman now a Councellour ha

had with a certaine friend of his, concerning the presage and deep impression, which her Majesties Father had of the house of Sir *Iohn Dudley*, to be the ruine in time of his Majesties royall house and blood, which thing was like to have been fulfilled soon after (as all the world knoweth) upon the death of King *Edward*, by the said *Dudley*, this mans Father: who at one blow, procured to dispatch from a possession from the Crown, all three children of the said noble King. And yet in the middest of those bloody practices against her Majesty that now is and her sister (wherein also this fellowes hand was so far, as for his age he could thrust the same) within sixteen dayes before King *Edwards* death (he knowing belike that the King should dye) wrote most flattering letters to the Lady *Mary* (as I have heard by them who then were with her) promising all loyalty and true service to her, after the decease of her brother, with no lesse painted words, then this man now doth use to Queene *Elizabeth*. Deepe dissimulation.

So dealt he then with the most deare children of his good King and Master, by whom he had beene no lesse exalted and trusted, then this man is by her Majesty. And so deeply dissembled he then when he had in hand the plot to destroy them both. And what then (alas) may not we feare and doubt of this his son, who in outragious ambition and desire of reigne, is not inferiour to his Father or to any other aspiring spirit in the world, but far more insolent, cruell, vindicative, expert, potent, subtile, fine, and fox like then ever he was? I like well the good motion propounded by the foresaid Gentleman, to his friend at the same time, and doe assure my selfe it would be most pleasant to the Realme, and profitable to her Majesty, to wit, that this mans actions might be called publique? Sir Francis Walsingham.

liquely to triall, and liberty given to good subjects to say what they knew against the same, as it was permitted in the first yeer of King *Henry* the eight against his Grandfather, and in the first of Queen *Mary* against his Father: and then I would not doubt, but if these two his Ancestors were found worthy to lose their heads for treason; this man would not be found unworthy to make the third in kindred, whose treacheries doe farre surpasse them both.

Edmund Dudley

Robert Dudley.

Lawyer. After the Gentleman had said this, the Lawyer stood still, somewhat smiling to himselfe, & looking round about him, as though he had bin halfe afraid, and then said; My masters, doe you read over or study the Statutes that come forth? have you not heard of the *proviso* made in the last Parliament for punishment of those who speake so broad of such men as my Lord of *Leicester* is?

Gentlemen. Yes, said the Gentleman, I have heard how that my Lord of *Leicester* was very carefull and diligent at that time to have such a Law to passe against talkers: hoping (belike) that his L. under that generall restraint might lye the more quietly in harbor from the tempest of mens tongus, which tatled busily at that time, of divers his Lordships actions and affairs, which perhaps himselfe would have wished to passe with more secresie. As of his discontentment and preparation to rebellion, upon *Monsieurs* first coming into the Land; of his disgrace and checks received in Court; of the fresh death of the noble Earle of *Essex*; & of this mans hasty snatching up of the widow, whom he sent up and downe the Country from house to house by privie wayes, thereby to avoid the sight & knowledge of the Queenes Majesty. And albeit he had not onely used her at his good liking before, for satisfying of his owne lust, but also married and remarried

The Law against talking.

Actions of Leicester whereof he would have no speech.

remarried her for contentation of her friends: yet denied he the same, by solemne oath to her Majesty, and received the holy Communion thereupon (so good a conscience he hath) and consequently threatned most sharp revenge towards all subjects which should dare to speake thereof: and so for the concealing both of this and other his doings, which he desired not to have publike, no marvaile though his Lordship were so diligent a procurer of that law for silence.

Indeed (said I) it is very probable that his Lordship was in great distresse about that time, when *Monsieurs* matters were in hand, and that he did many things and purposed more, whereof he desired lesse speech among the people, especially afterwards, when his said designements tooke not place. I was my selfe that yeer not far from Warwick when he came thither from the Court a full Male-content, and when it was thought most certainly throughout the Realm, that he would have taken armes soon after, if the marriage of her Majesty with *Monsieur* had gone forward. The thing in Cambridge and in all the Countrey as I rode, was in every mans mouth: and it was a wonder to see not onely the countenances, but also the behaviour, and to heare the bold speeches of all such as were of his faction. *Sholar.*

My Lord himselfe had given out a little before at Kilningworth, that the matter would cost many broken heads before Michaelmasse day next; and my Lord of *Warwick* had told openly at his table in Greenwich, Sir *Thomas Henrige* being by (if I be not deceived) that it was not to be suffered (I meane the marriage) which words of his once coming abroad (albeit misliked by his own Lady then also present) every Serving man and common companion, tooke them up in defence of his Leicesters preparatives to rebellion upon Monsieurs marriage.

Lordships part against the Queenes Majesty. Such running there was, such sending and posting about the Realme, such amplification of the powers and forces of *Casimere* and other Princes, ready (as was affirmed) to present themselves unto his aid, for defence of the Realme and Religion against strangers: (for that was holden to be his cause) such numbring of parties and complices within the Realme, (whereof himselfe shewed the Catalogue to some of his friends for their comfort) such debasing of them that favoured the marriage (especially two or three Councellours by name, who were said to be the cause of all, and for that were appointed out to be sharply punished to the terrour of all others:) such letters were written and intercepted of purpose, importing great powers to be ready, and so many other things done and designed, tending all to manifest and open warre: as I began hartily to be afraid, and wished my selfe backe at Cambridge againe, hoping that being there, my Scholars gowne should excuse me from necessity of fighting, or if not, I was resolved (by my Lords good leave) to follow *Aristotle*, who preferreth alway the Lyon before the Beare; assuring my selfe withall, that his Lordship should have no better successe in this (if it came to triall) then his Father had in as bad a cause, and so much the more for that I was privie to the mindes of some of his friends, who ment to have deceived him, if the matter had broken out. And amongst other there was a certain Vice-president in the World, who being left in the roome and absence of another, to procure friends; said in a place secretly not far from Ludlow, that if the matter came to blowes, he would follow his Mistresse, and leave his Master in the briars.

To Sir Thomas Layton.

L. Treasurer.
L. Chamberlaine
M. Controler.

Sir Thomas Hibbot.

Marry

Marry sir (qd the Gentleman) and I trow many more would have followed that example. For albeit I know, that the Papists were most named and misdoubted of his part, in that cause, for their open inclination towards *Monsieur*, & consequently, for greater discredit of the thing it selfe, it was given out every where by this Champion of religion, that her Majesties cause was the Papists cause (even as his Father had done in the like enterprise before him, though all upon dissimulation, as appeared at his death, where he professed himself an earnest Papist:) yet was there no man so simple in the Realm, which descried not this vizard at the first: neither yet any good subject (as I suppose) who seeing her Majesty on the one part, would not have taken against the other part, what so ever he had beene. And much more the thing it selfe in controversie (I meane the marriage of her royall Majesty with the brother and heire apparant of France) being taken and judged by the best, wisest and faithfullest Protestants of the Realme, to be both honourable, convenient, profitable and needfull. Whereby onely, as by a most soveraigne, and present remedy, all our maladies both abroad and at home, had at once been cured: all forraign enemies, and domestical conspirators, all differences, all dangers, all feares had ceased together: France had beene ours most assured; Spaine would not a little have trembled; Scotland had been quiet; our competitors in England would have quaked; and for the Pope he might have put up his pipes. Our differences in religion at home, had been either lesse, or no greater then now they are, for that *Monsieur* being but a moderate Papist, and nothing vehement in his opinions was content with very reasonable conditions, for himselfe and his strangers onely in use of their

Gentleman.

Leicesters Father a traiterous Papist

The honour and commodities by the marriage with France.

consci-

conscience not unlikely (truly) but that in time he might by Gods grace, and by the great wisdome and vertue of her Majesty have been brought also to embrace the Gospell, as King *Ethelbert* an heathen was by noble Queen *Bertha* his wife, the first Christian of our English Princes.

Ethelbert King of Kent, converted An. Dom. 603

Unto all which felicity, if the Lord in mercy should have added also some issue of their royall bodies (as was not impossible, when first this noble match was moved,) we then (doubtlesse) had been the most fortunate people under heaven, and might have been (perhaps) the meane to have restored the Gospell throughout all Europe besides, as our Brethren of France well considered and hoped.

Of all which singular benefits both present and to come, both in *Re* and *Spe*, this tyrant for his own private lucre (fearing lest hereby his ambition might be restrained, and his treachery revealed) hath bereaved the Realme, and done what in him lyeth besides, to alienate for ever and make our mortall enemy this great Prince, who sought the love of her Majesty with so much honour & confidence as never Prince the like, putting twice his owne person in jeopardy of the Sea, and to the perill of his malicious enviors here in England, for her Majesties sake.

Lawyer. When you speak of *Monsieur* (said the Lawyer) I cannot but greatly be moved, both for these considerations well touched by you, as also for some other; especially one wherein (perhaps) you will thinke me partiall, but truly I am not; for that I speake it onely in respect of the quiet and good of my Countrey, and that is, that by *Monsieurs* match with our noble Princesse, besides the hope of issue (which was the principall) there wanted not also probability, that some union or little toleration

in

in religion, between you and us, might have been procured in this ſtate, as we ſee that in ſome other Countries is admitted to their great good. Which thing (no doubt) would have cut off quite all dangers and dealings from forraine Princes, & would have ſtopped mane deviſes and plots within the Realme: wheras now by this breach with France, we ſtand alone as me ſeemeth without any great unition or friendſhip abroad, and our differences at home grow more vehement and ſharp then ever before. Upon which two heads, as alſo upon infinit other cauſes, purpoſes, driſts and pretences, there doe enſue daily more deepe, dangerous and deſperate practiſes, every man uſing either the commodity or neceſſity of the time and ſtate for his owne purpoſe, eſpecially now when all men preſume that her Majeſty (by the continuall thwartings which have been uſed againſt all her marriage) is not like to leave unto the Realme, that precious jewell ſo much and long deſired of all Engliſh hearts, I meane the Royall heires of her owne body.

Tolleration in Religion, with union in defence of our Country.

Thwartings call you the defeating of all her Majeſties moſt honourable offers of marriage? (ſaid the other) truly in my opinion you ſhould have uſed another word to expreſſe the nature of ſo wicked a fact: wherby alone, if there were no other, this unfortunate man, hath done more hurt to this Common wealth, then if he had murdered many thouſands of her ſubjects, or betrayd whole armies to the profeſſed enemy. I can remember well my ſelfe, foure treatiſes to this purpoſe, undermined by his meanes: the firſt with the Swethen King the ſecond with the Archduke of Auſtria, the third with *Henry* King of France that now reigneth, and the fourth with the brother and heire of the ſaid Kingdome. For I let paſſe many other

Gentleman.

Diversmarriages of her Ma. defeated.

other secret motions made by great Potentates to her Majesty for the same purpose, but these foure are openly known, and therefore I name them. Which foure are as well knowne to have been all disturbed by this *Dawes*, as they were earnestly pursued by the other.

Leicesters devices to drive away all Sutors from her Maiesty.

And for the first three Suters, he drove them away, by protesting and swearing that himselfe was contracted unto her Majesty, wherof her highnesse was sufficiently advertised by Cardinall *Chatilian* in the first treaty for France, and the Cardinall soone after punished (as is thought) by this man with poyson. But yet this speech he gave out then, every where among his friends both strangers and others, that he, forsooth, was assured to her Majesty, and consequently that all other Princes must give over their suits, for him. Whereunto notwithstanding, when the Sweden would hardly give eare, this man conferred with his Privado to make a most unseemly and disloyal proof therof, for the others satisfaction, which thing I am enforced by duty to passe over with silence, for honour to the parties who are touched therein: as also I am to conceale his said filthy Privado, though worthy otherwise for his dishonesty to be displayed to the world: but my Lord himselfe, I am sure, doth well remember both the man and the matter. And albeit there was no wise man at that time who knowing my Lord suspected not the falshood, and his arrogant affirmation touching this contract with her Majesty, yet some both abroad and at home might doubt thereof perhaps: but now of late, by his knowne marriage with his Minion Dame *Lettice of Essex*, he hath declared manifestly his owne most impudent and disloyall dealing with his soveraigne in this report.

Leicester convinced himselfe of impudency.

For

For that report (quoth the Lawyer) I know that it was common, and maintained by many for divers yeeres; yet did the wiser sort make no account thereof, seeing it came onely from himselfe, and in his own behalfe. Neither was it credible, that her Majesty who refused so noble Knights and Princes, as Europe hath not the like, would make choice of so meane a peere as *Robin Dudley* is, noble onely in two descents, and both of them stained with the block. from which also himselfe was pardoned but the other day, being codemned therunto by law for his deserts, as appeareth yet in publick records. And for the widow of Essex, I marvaile sir (quoth he) how you call her his wife, seeing the Canon-law standeth yet in force touching matters of marriage within the Realme.

Lawyer.

The baseneſſe of Leiceſters anceſtors.

Anno 1. R. Mary.

Oh (said the Gentleman laughing) you meane for that he procured the poisoning of her husband in his journey from Ireland. You must think that Doctor *Dale* will dispence in that matter, as he did (at his Lordships appointment) with his Italian physician Doctor *Iulio*, to have two wives at once; at the leastwise the matter was permitted, and born out by them both publiquely (as all the world knoweth) and that against no lesse persons then the Archbishop of Canterbury himselfe, whose overthrew was principally wrought by this tyrant for contraryng his will, in so beastly a demand. But for this controverse whether the marriage be good or so, I leave it to be tried hereafter, between my yong Lord of Denbighe, and Master *Philip Sidney*, whom the same most concerneth: for that it is like to deprive him of a goodly inheritance, if it take place (as some will say that in no reason it can) not only in respect of the precedent adultery and murder betweene the parties; but also for that my Lord was contracted at

Gentleman.

Doctor Dale.

Doctor Iulio.

The Archbiſhops over-throw for not allowing two wives to Leiceſter his Phyſitian

The Lady Shefield now Embassadresse in France.

at least, to another Lady before, that yet liveth, whereof Master *Edward Diar* and Master *Edmond Tirney*, both Courtiers, can be witnesses, and consumated the same contract by generation of children. But this (as I said) must be left to be tried hereafter by them who shall have most interest in the case. Onely for the present I must advertise you, that you may not take hold so exactly of all my L. doings in womens affaires, neither touching their marriages, neither yet their husbands.

The death of Leicesters first Lady and wife.

For first his Lordship hath a speciall fortune, that when he desireth any womans favour, then what person so ever standeth in his way, hath the luck to dye quickly for the finishing of his desire. As for example, when his Lordship was in full hope to marry her Majesty, and his owne wife stood in his light, as he supposed; he did but send her aside to the house of his servant *Forster* of Cumner by Oxford, where shortly after she had the chance to fall from a paire of stayres, and so to breake her neck, but yet without hurting of her head that stood upon her head. But Sir *Richard Varney*, who by commandement remained with her that day alone, with one man onely, and had sent away perforce all her Servants from her, to a Market two miles of, he (I say) with his man can tell how she died, which man being taken afterward for a felleny in the marches of Wales, and offering to publish the manner of the said murder, was made away privily in the prison: and Sir *Richard* himself dying about the same time in London, cried pitiously and blasphemed God, and said to a Gentleman of worship of mine acquaintance, not long before his death, that all the divels in hell did teare him in pieces. The wife also of *Bald Butler* kinsman to my Lord, gave out the whole fact a little before her death. But to return

Sir Richard Varney.

Bald Butler.

unto

unto my purpose, this was my Lords good fortun to have his wife dye, at that time when it was like to turne most to his profit.

Long after this he fell in love with the Lady *Sheffield*, whom I signified before, and then also had he the same fortune to have her husband dye quickly, with an extreame rheume in his head (as it was given out) but as others say, of an artificiall catarre that stopped his breath. The like good chance had he in the death of my Lord of *Essex* (as I have said before) and that at a time most fortunate for his purpose; for when he was coming home from Ireland, with intent to revenge himselfe upon my Lord of *Leycester*, for begetting his wife with childe in his absence (the childe was a daughter, and brought up by the Lady *Shandoies*, *W. Knooles* his wife:) my Lord of *Ley* hearing thereof, wanted not a friend or two to accompany the Deputy, as among other, a couple of the Earles owne servants, *Crampton* (if I misse not his name) yeoman of his bottles, and *Lloid* his Secretary, entertained afterward by my Lord of *Leicester*: and so he dyed in the way of an extreame flux, caused by an Italian *Recipe*, as all his friends are well assured; the maker whereof was a Chyrurgeon (as is beleeved) that then was newly come to my Lord from Italy: a cunning man, and sure in operation, with whom if the good Lady had beene sooner acquainted and used his helpe, she should not have needed to sitten so pensive at home and fearefull of her husbands former returne out of the same Countrey, but might have spared the yong childe in her belly, which she was enforced to make away (cruelly and unnaturally) for clearing the house against the good mans arrivall.

The suspitious death of the Lord Sheffield.

The poisoning of the Earle of Essex.

The shifting of a childe in dame Lettice belly.

Neither must you marvaile though all these died in divers manners of outward diseases, for this

is

The divers operation of Roylor

is the excellency of the Italian art, for which this Chyrurgian and Doctor *Iulio* were entertained so carefully, who can make a man dye, in what manner or shew of sickneſſe you will: by whoſe inſtructions no doubt but his Lordſhip is now cunning, eſpecially adding alſo to theſe the counſell of his Doctor *Bayly*, a man alſo not a little ſtudied (as he ſeemeth) in his art: for I heard him once my ſelfe in publique Act in Oxford, and that in preſence of my Lord of *Leceſter*, (if I be not deceived) maintain, that poyſon might ſo be tempered and given as it ſhould not appeare preſently, and yet ſhould kill the party afterward at what time ſhould be appointed. Which argument belike pleaſed well his Lordſhip, and therefore was choſen to be diſcuſſed in his audience, if I be not deceived of his being that day preſent. So, though one dye of a flux, and another of a catarre, yet this importeth little to the matter, but ſheweth rather the great cunning and skill of the Artificer.

Doctor Bayly the yonger.

Death of Cardinall Chatilian.

So Cardinall *Chatilian* (as I have ſaid before) having accuſed my Lord of *Leceſter* to the Queens Majeſty, and after that, paſſing from London towards France about the marriage, died by the way at Canterbury of a burning fever: and ſo proved Doctor *Bayties* aſſertion true, that poyſon may be given to kill at a day.

Scholar.

At this the Lawyer caſt up his eyes to heaven, and I ſtood ſomewhat muſing and thinking of that which had beene ſpoken of the Earle of *Eſſex*, whoſe caſe indeed moved me more then all the reſt, for that he was a very noble Gentleman, a great advancer of true Religion, a Patron to many Preachers and Students, and towards me and ſome of my friends in particular, he had beene in ſome things very beneficiall: and

there-

therefore I said that it grieved me extreamly to heare or thinke of so unworthy a death contrived by such meanes to so worthy a Peere. And so much the more, for that it was my chance, to come to the understanding of divers particulars concerning that thing, both from one *Lea* an Irish-man, *Robin Honnies*, and others, that were present at *Penteris* the Merchants house in *Dublin* upon the Key, where the murder was committed. The matter was wrought especially by *Crompton* yeoman of the Bottels, by the procurement of *Lloyd* as you haue noted before, and there was poysoned at the same time, and with the same cup (as given of curtesie by the Earle) one Mistresse *Alis Draykot*, a goodly Gentlewoman, whom the Earle affectioned much, who departing thence towards her owne house, (which was 18. miles off, the foresaid *Lea* accompanying her, and waiting upon her) she began to fall sick very grievously upon the way, and continued with increase of paines and excessiue torments, by vomiting, untill she died, which was the Sunday before the Earles death, ensuing the Friday after; and when she was dead, her body was swolne unto a monstrous bignesse and deformity, whereof the good Earle hearing the day following, lamented the case greatly, and said in the presence of his Servants, Ah poore *Alice*, the cup was not prepared for thee, albeit it were thy hard destiny to taste thereof.

Lea.
Honnies.

Mistris Draykot poisoned with the Earl of Essex

Yong *Honnies* also, whose father is Master of the children of her Majesties chappell, being at that time Page to the said Earle, and accustomed to take the taste of his drinke (though since entertained also among other by my Lord of *Leicester*, for better covering of matter) by his taste that he then tooke of the compound cup, (though in very

small quantity, as you know the fashion is:) yet was he like to have lost his life, but escaped in the end (being yong) with the losse onely of his haire; which the Earle perceiving, and taking compassion of the youth, called for a cup of drinke a little before his death, and drunke to *Honnies*, saying, I drinke to thee my *Robin*, and be not afraid, for this is a better cup of drinke then that whereof thou tookest the taste when we were both poysoned, and whereby thou hast lost thy haire and I must lose my life. This hath yong *Honnies* reported openly in divers places, and before divers Gentlemen of worship sithence his coming into England; and the foresaid *Les* Irishman, at his passage this way towards France, after he had been present at the forenamed Mistris *Draykots* death, with some other of the Earles servants, have and doe most constantly report the same, where they may do it without the terrour of my Lord of *Leicesters* revenge. Wherefore in this matter there is no doubt at all, though most extreame vile and intollerable indignity, that such a man should be so openly murdered without punishment. What Noble-man within the Realme may be safe, if this be suffered? or what worthy personage will adventure his life in her Majesties service, if this shall be his reward? But, Sir, I pray you pardon me, for I am somewhat perhaps too vehement in the case of this my Patron and noble Peere of our Realme. And therefore I beseech you to goe forward in your talke whereas you left.

The Earle of Essex speech to his Page Robin Honnies.

Gentleman. I was recounting unto you others (said the Gentleman) made away by my Lord of *Leicester* with like art, and the next in order I think was Sir *Nicolas Throgmarton*, who was a man whom my Lord of *Leicester* used a great while (as all the World know-

Death of Sir Nicholas Throgmarton.

knoweth) to overthwart and crosse the doings of my Lord Treasurer then Sir *William Cicill*, a man specially misliked alwayes of *Leicester*, both in respect of his old Master the Duke of *Somerset*, as also for that his great wisdome, zeale and singular fidelity to the Realme, was like to hinder much this mans designments; wherefore understanding after a certaine time that these two Knights were secretly made friends, and that Sir *Nicholas* was like to detect his doings (as he imagined) which might turne to some prejudice of his purposes: (having conceived also a secret grudge and griefe against him, for that he had written to her Majesty at his being Embassadour in France, that he heard reported at Duke *Memorances* table, that the Queene of England had a meaning to marry her Horsekeeper) he invited the said Sir *Nicholas* to a supper at his house in London, and at supper time departed to the Court, being called for, as he said, upon the sudden by her Majesty, and so perforce would needs have Sir *Nicholas* to sit and occupie his Lordships place, and therein to be served as he was: and soone after by a surfeit there taken, he died of a strange and incurable vomit. But the day before his death, he declared to a deare friend of his, all the circumstance and cause of his deseate, which he affirmed plainly to be of poison, given him in a Salet at supper, inveying most earnestly against the Earles cruelty and bloody disposition, affirming him to be the wickedest, most perilous, and perfidious man under heaven. But what availed this, when he had now received the bait?

Sir William Cicill now Lord Treasurer.

The poisoning of Sir Nicholas in a salet.

This then is to shew the mans good fortune, in seeing them dead, whom for causes he would not have to live. And for his art of poisoning, it is such

now, and teacheth so far, as he holdeth all his foes in England and elsewhere, as also a good many of his friends in fear therof, and if it were knowne how many he hath dispatched or assaulted that way, it would be marvailous to the posterity. The late Earle of *Sussex* wanted not a scruple for many yeers before his death, of some dram received, that made him incurable. And unto that noble Gentleman Monsieur *Simiers*, it was discovered bygreat providence of God, that his life was to be attempted by that art, and that not taking place (as it did not through his owne good circumspection,) it was concluded that the same should be assaulted by violence, whereof I shall have occasion to say more hereafter.

The Lord Chamberlin.

Monsieur Simiers

It hath beene told me also by some of the servants of the late Lady *Lenox*, who was also of the blood Royall by Scotland, as all men know, and consequently little liked by *Leicester*; that a little before her death or sickneſſe, my Lord tooke the paines to come and visit her with extraordinary kindneſſe, at her house at Hackney, bestowing long discourses with her in private: but as soone as he was departed, the good Lady fell into such a flux, as by no meanes could be stayed so long as she had life in her body; whereupon both she her selfe, and all such as were neére about her, saw her diseaſe and ending day, were fully of opinion, that my Lord had procured her dispatch at his being there. Whereof let the women that served her be examined, as also *Fowler* that then had the chiefe doings in her affaires, and since hath beene entertained by my Lord of *Leicester*. *Mallet* also, a stranger borne, that then was about her, a sober and zealous man in religion, and otherwiſe well qualified, can say somewhat in this point (as I thinke) if he were deman-

The poisoning of the Lady Lenox.

demanded. So that this art and exercise of poisoning, is much more perfect with my Lord then praying, and he seemeth to take more pleasure therein.

Now for the second point, which I named, touching marriages and contracts with Women: you must not marvaile though his Lordship be somewhat divers, variable and inconstant with himselfe, for that according to his profit or pleasure, and as his lust and liking shall vary (wherein by the judgement of all men, he surpasseth, not onely *Sardanapalus* and *Nero*, but even *Heliogabalus* himselfe:) so his Lordship also changeth Wives and Minions, by killing the one, denying the other, using the third for a time, and he fawning upon the fourth. And for this cause he hath his tearmes and pretences (I warrant you) of Contracts, Precontracts, Postcontracts, Protracts and Retracts; as for example: after he had killed his first wife, and so broken that contract, then forsooth would he needs make himselfe Husband to the Queenes Majesty, and so defeat all other Princes by vertue of his precontract. But after this, his lust compelling to another place, he would needs make a postcontract with the Lady *Sheffield*, and so he did, begetting two children upon her, the one a boy called *Robin Sheffield* now living, some time brought up at Newington; and the other a daughter, borne (as is knowne) at *Dudley* Castle. But yet after, his concupiscence changed againe (as it never stayeth) he resolved to make a retract of this postcontract, (though it were as surely done (as I have said) as bed and Bible could make the same) and to make a certaine new protract, (which is a continuation of using her for a time) with the widow of *Essex*: but yet to stop the mouthes of

Leicesters most variable dealing with women in contracts and marriages.

Contracts.

Precontracts.

Postcontracts.

Retract.

Protract.

Leicesters two testaments.

out-criars, and to bury the Synagogue with some honour, (for these two wives of *Leicester* were merrily and wittily called his old and new Testaments, by a person of great excellency within the Realme) he was content to assigne to the former a thousand pounds in money with other petty considerations, (the pittifullest abused that ever was poore Lady) and so betake his lims to the latter, which latter notwithstanding, he so useth (as we see) now confessing, now forswearing, now dissembling the marriage; as he will alwayes yet keepe a void place for a new surcontract with any other, when occasion shall require.

Scholar. Now by my truth sir (quoth I) I never heard nor read the like to this in my life; yet have I read much in my time, of the carnality and licentiousnesse of divers outragious persons, in this kinde of sin, as namely these whom you have mentioned before; especially the Emperour *Heliogabalus* who passed all other, and was called *Varius*, of the varity of filth which he used in this kinde of carnality or carnall beastlinesse: whose death was, that being at length odious to all men, and so slain by his own Souldiers, was drawn through the City upon the ground like a dog, and cast into the common privy, with this Epitaph; *Hic projectus est impudicæ & rabidæ libidinis catulus.* Here is thrown in the Whelpe of unruly and raging lust: which Epitaph may also one day chance to serve my Lord of *Leicester* (whom you call the Beare-whelp) if he go forward as he hath begun, and dye as he deserveth.

Varius Heliogabalus, and his most infamous death.

An Epitaph.

But, good sir, what a compassion is this, that among us Christians, & namely in so wel governed and religious a Common-wealth as ours is, such a riot should be permitted upon mens wives, in a subject?

A pittifull permission.

subject? whereas we read that among the very Heathens, lesse offences then these, in the same kinde, were extreamly punished in Princes themselves, and that not onely in the person delinquent alone, but also by extirpation of the whole family for his sake, as appeareth in the example of the *Tarquinians* among the Romans. And here also in our owne Realme, we have registred in Chronicle, how that one King *Edwin* above six hundred yeeres past, was deprived of his Kingdome, for much lesse scandalous facts then these.

The exerpation of the Tarquinians. Anno Dom. 959.

I remember well the story (quoth the Gentleman) & thereby doe easily make conjecture, what difference there is betwixt those times of old, and our dayes now: seeing then, a crowned Prince could not passe unpunished with one or two outragious acts, whereas now a subject raised up but yesterday from the meaner sort, rangeth at his pleasure in all licenciousnesse, and that with security, void of fear both of God and man. No mans wife can be free from him, whom his fiery lust liketh to abuse, nor their husbands able to resist nor save from his violence, if they shew dislike, or will not yeeld their consent to his doings. And if I should discover in particular how many good husbands he had plagued in this nature, and for such delights, it were intolerable; for his concupiscence and violence do run joyntly together, as in furious beasts we see they are accustomed. Neither holdeth he any rule in his lust besides onely the motion and suggestion of his own sensuality; kindred, affinity or any other band of consanguinity; religion, honour or honesty taketh no place in his outragious appetite: what he best liketh, that he taketh as lawfull for the time. So that kinswoman, allie, friends wife or daughter,

Gentleman.

The intollerable licenciousnes of Leicesters carnality.

or whatsoever female sort besides doth please his eye: (I leave out of purpose, and for honour sake, tearmes of kinred more neere) that must yeeld to his desire.

The keeping of the Mother with two or three of her daughters at once or successively, is no more with him, then the eating of an Hen & her chicken together. There are not (by report) two noble women about her Majesty (I speake upon some accompt of them that know much) whom he hath not solicited by potent wayes: neither contented with this place of honour, he hath descended to seeke pasture among the waiting Gentlewomen of her Majesties great chamber, offering more for their allurement, then I thinke *Lais* did commonly take in Corinth, if three hundreth pounds for a night, will make up the sum; or if not, yet will he make it up otherwise: having reported himselfe (so little shame he hath) that he offered to another of higher place, an 100 pound lands by the yeere, with as many jewels as most women under her Majesty used in England; which was no mean bait to one that used traffick in such merchandize; she being but the leavings of another man before him, wherof my Lord is nothing squemish, for satisfying of his lust, but can be content (as they say) to gather up crums when he is hungry, even in the very Landry it selfe, or other place of baser quality.

Mony well spent

Anne Vausour.

The punishments of God upon Leicester to do him good.

And albeit the Lord of his great mercy, to doe him good, no doubt, if he were revokeable, hath laid his hand upon him, in some chastisement in this world, by giving him a broken belly on both sides of his bowels, whereby misery and putrifaction is threatned to him daily: and to his yong Sonne, by the widow of *Essex* (being *Filius peccati*) such a strange calamity of the falling

ling ſickneſſe in his infancy, * as well may be a witneſſe of the Parents ſinne and wickedneſſe, and of both their waſted natures in iniquity: yet is this man nothing amended thereby, but according to the cuſtome of all old adulterers, is more libidinous at this day then ever before, more given to procure love in others by conjuring, ſorcery, and other ſuch meanes. And albeit for himſelfe, both age, and nature ſpent, doe ſomewhat tame him from the act, yet wanteth he not will, as appeareth by the Italian ointment, procured not many yeers paſt by his Chyrurgien or Mountibanke of that Countrey, whereby (as they ſay) he is able to move his fleſh at all times, for keeking of his credit, howſoever his inability be otherwiſe for performance: as alſo one of his Phyſitians reported to an Earle of this Land, that his Lordſhip had a bottle for his bed-head, of ten pounds the Pint to the ſame effect. But my Maſters whether are we fallen, unadviſedly? I am aſhamed to have made mention of ſo baſe filthineſſe.

* The children of adulterers ſhall be conſumed, and the ſeed of a wicked bed ſhall be rooted out, ſaith God, Sap. 3.

Leiceſters oynment.

Leiceſters bottle

Not without good cauſe (quoth I) but that we are here alone, and no man heareth us. Wherefore I pray you let us returne whereas we left: and when you named my Lord of *Leiceſters* Daughter borne of the Lady *Sheffield* in *Dudley* Caſtle, there came into my head a prety ſtory concerning that affaire: which now I will recount (though ſomewhat out of order) thereby to draw you from the further ſtirring of this unſavory puddle and foule dunghill, whereunto we are ſlipped, by following my Lord ſomewhat too far in his paths and actions.

Scholar.

Wherefore to tell you the tale as it fell out: I grew acquainted three months paſt with a certain Miniſter, that now is dead, and was the ſame man

that

that was used in *Dudley* Castle, for complement of some sacred ceremonies at the birth of my Lord of *Leicesters* daughter in that place: and the matter was so ordained, by the wily wit of him that had sowed the seed, that for the better covering of the harveſt and secret delivery of the Lady *Sheffield*, the good wife of the Castle also (whereby *Leicesters* appointed gossips might without other suspition have accesse to the place) should faine her selfe to be with childe, and after long and sore travell, God wot, to be delivered of a cushion (as she was indeed) and a little after a faire coffin was buried with a bundell of clouts, in shew of a childe; and the Minister causèd to use all accustomed prayers and ceremonies for the solemne interring thereof: for which thing afterward, before his death, he had great griefe and remorse of conscience, with no small detestation of the most irreligious device of my Lord of *Leicester* in such a case.

A pretty device.

An act of atheism

Lawyer. Here the Lawyer began to laugh a pace both at the device and at the Minister; and said, now truly if my Lords contracts hold no better, but hath so many infirmities, with subtilties, and by-places besides: I would be loth that he were married to my daughter, as mean as she is.

Gentleman. But yet (quoth the Gentleman) I had rather of the two be his wife, for the time, then his guest: especially if the Italian Chyrurgian or Physitian be at hand.

Lawyer. True it is (said the Lawyer) for he doth not poison his wives, whereof I somewhat mervaile, especially his first wife; I muse why he chose rather to make her away by open violence, then by some Italian confortive.

Gentleman. Hereof (said the Gentleman) may be diver reason

reasons alleaged. First, that he was not at that time so skilfull in those Italian wares, nor had about him so fit Physitians and Chyrurgions for the purpose: nor yet in truth doe I thinke that his minde was so setled then in mischiefe, as it hath beene sithence. For you know, that men are not desperate the first day, but doe enter into wickednesse by degrees, and with some doubt or staggering of conscience at the beginning. And so he at that time might be desirous to have his wife made away, for that she letted him in his designements, but yet not so stony harted as to appoint out the particular manner of her death, but rather to leave that to the discretion of the murderer.

The first reason why Leicester slew his wife by violence, rather then by poyson.

Secondly, it is not also unlike that he prescribed unto Sir *Richard Varney* at his going thither, that he should first attempt to kill her by poyson, and if that tooke not place, then by any other way to dispatch her howsoever. This I prove by the report of old Doctor *Bayly*, who then lived in Oxford (another manner of man then he who now liveth about my Lord of the same name) and was Professour of the Physicke Lecture in the same University. This learned grave man reported for most certaine, that there was a practice in Cumner among the conspiratours, to have poysoned the poore Lady a little before she was killed, which was attempted in this oder.

The second reason.

Doctor Bayly the elder.

They seeing the good Lady sad and heavy (as one that wel knew by her other handling that her death was not far off) began to perswade her, that her disease was abundance of melancholly and other humors, and therefore would needs counsaile her to take some potion, which she absolutely refusing to do, as suspecting still the worst; they sent one

A practice for poisoning the Lady Dudley.

day, (unwares to her) for Doctor *Bayly*, and desired him to perswade her to take some little potion at his hands, and they would send to fetch the same at Oxford upon his prescription, meaning to have added also somewhat of their owne for her comfort, as the Doctor upon just causes suspected, seeing their great importunity, and the small need which the good Lady had of Physick; and therefore he flatly denied their requeſt, misdoubting (as he after reported) leſt if they had poiſoned her under the name of his Potion, he might after have beene hanged for a colour of their ſinne. Marry the ſaid Doctor remained well aſſured that this way taking no place, ſhe ſhould not long eſcape violence, as after enſued. And the thing was ſo beaten into the heads of the principall men of the Univerſity of Oxford, by theſe and other meanes: as for that ſhe was found murdered (as all men ſaid) by the Crowners inqueſt, and for that ſhe being haſtily and obſcurely buried at Cumner (which was condemned above, as not adviſedly done) my good Lord, to make plain to the world the great loue he bare to her in her life, and what a griefe the loſſe of ſo vertuous a Lady was to his tender heart, would needs have her taken up againe and reburied in the Univerſity Church at Oxford, with great pomp and ſolemnity: that Doctor *Babington* my Lords Chaplain, making the publike funerall Sermon at her ſecond buriall, tript once or twice in his ſpeech by recommending to their memories that vertuous Lady ſo pitifully murdered, inſtead of ſo pitifully ſlaine.

Doct. Babington

A third reaſon.

A third cauſe of this manner of the Ladies death, may be the diſpoſition of my Lords nature; which is bold and violent where it feareth no reſiſtance (as all cowardly natures are by kinde)

kinde) and where any difficulty or danger appeareth, there, more ready to attempt all by art, subtilty, treason and treachery. And so for that he doubted no great resistance in the poore Lady to withstand the hands of them which should offer to breake her neck: he durst the bolder attempt the same openly.

But in the men whom he poisoned, for that they were such valiant Knights, the most part of them, as he durst as soon have eaten his scabard, as draw his sword in publike against them: he was inforced (as all wretched irefull and dastardly creatures are) to supplant them by fraud, and by other mens hands. As also at other times, he hath sought to doe unto divers other noble and valiant personages, when he was afraid to meet them in the field, as a Knight should have done.

His treacheries towards the noble late Earl of *Sussex* in their many breaches, is notorious to all England. As also the bloody practises against divers others.

But asamong many none were more odious and misliked of all men, then those against Monsieur *Simiers*, a stranger and Embassadour; whom first he practised to have poisoned (as hath bin touched before) and when that device tooke not place, then he appointed that *Robin Tider* his man (as after upon his Ale-bench he confessed) should have slaine him at the Blackfriars at Greenwich as he went forth at the garden gate; but missing also that purpose, for that he found the Gentleman better provided and guarded then he expected, he dealt with certaine Flushmers and other Pirates to sinke him at Sea, with the English Gentlemen his favourers, that accompanied him at his returne into France. And though they missed of this practice also, (as not daring to set upon him

The intended murder of Monsieur Simiers by sundry meanes.

him for feare of some of her Majesties ships, who to breake off this designment attended by speciall commandement, to wast him over in safety) yet the foresaid English Gentlemen were holden foure houres in chace at their coming backe, as Master *Rowley* well knoweth, being then present, and two of the chasers, named *Clark* and *Harris*, confessed afterward the whole designment.

The intended murder of the Earle of Ormond

The Earl of *Ormond* in likewise hath often declared, and will avouch it to my Lord of *Leicesters* face, whensoever he shall be called to the same, that at such time as this man had a quarell with him, and thereby was likely to be enforced to the field (which he trembled to thinke of) he first sought by all meanes to get him made away by secret murder, offering five hundred pounds for the doing thereof. And secondly, when that device tooke no place, he appointed with him the field, but secretly suborning his servant *William Killigre* to lye in the way where *Ormond* should passe, and so to massacre him with a calwer, before he came to the place appointed. Which murder, though it tooke no effect, for that the matter was taken up, before the day of meeting: yet was *Killigre* placed afterward in her Majesties privy Chamber by *Leicester*, for shewing his ready minde to doe for his Master so faithfull a service.

William Killegre

Scholar. So faithfull a service (quoth I) truly, in my opinion, it was but an unfit preferment, for so facinorous a fact. And as it would be loth that many of his Italians, or other of that art, should come nigh about her Majesties kitchen; so, much lesse would I, that many such his bloody Champions, should be placed by him in her Highnesse chamber. Albeit for this Gentleman in particular, it may be, that with change of his

place

place in service, he hath changed also his minde and affection, and received better instruction in the feare of the Lord.

But yet in general, I must needs say, that it cannot be but prejudiciall and exceeding dangerous unto our noble Prince and Realme, that any one man whatsoever (especially such a one as the world taketh this man to be) should grow to so absolute authority and commandry in the Court, as to place about the Princes person (the head, the heart, the life of the land) whatsoever people liketh him best, and that now upon their deserts towards the Prince, but towards himselfe; whose fidelity being more obliged to their advancer, then to their soveraigne, doe serve for watchmen about the same, for the profit of him, by whose appointment they were placed. Who by their meanes casting indeed but nets and chaines, and invisible bands about that person, whom most of all he pretendeth to serve, he shutteth up his Prince in a prison most sure, though sweet and senseleſſe.

Preoccupation of her Maiesties person.

Neither is this art of aspiring new or strange unto any man that is experienced in affaires of former time; for that it hath been from the beginning of all government a troden path of all aspirers. In the stories both sacred and prophane, foraine and domesticall of all Nations, Kingdomes, Countries and States, you shall read, that such as ment to mount above others, and to governe all at their owne discretion; did lay this for the first ground and principle of their purpose; to possesse themselves of all such as were in place about the principall; even as he who intending to hold a great City at his owne disposition, dareth not mak open war against the same; getteth secretly into his hands or at his devotion, al the Towns,

An ordinary way of aspiring by preoccupation of the Princes person.

A comparison.

Vil-

Villages, Caſtles, Fortreſſes, bulwarks, Rampires, Waters, Wayes, Ports and Paſſages, about the ſame, and ſo without drawing any ſword againſt the ſaid City, he bringeth the ſame into bondage to abide his will and pleaſure.

This did all theſe in the Roman Empire, who roſe from ſubjects to be great Princes, and to put downe Emperours. This did all thoſe in France and other Kingdomes, who at ſundry times have tyrannized their Princes. And in our owne Countrey the examples are manifeſt of *Vortiger*, *Harold*, *Henry* of Lancaſter, *Richard* of Warwicke, *Richard* of Glocester, *Iohn* of Northumberland, and divers others, who by this meane ſpecially, have pulled downe their lawfull Soveraignes.

The way of aſpiring in Duke Dudley.

And to ſpeake onely a word or two of the laſt, for that he was this mans Father; doth not all England know, that he firſt overthrew the good Duke of *Somerſet*, by drawing to his devotion the very ſervants and friends of the ſaid Duke? And afterward did not he poſſeſſe himſelfe of the Kings owne perſon, and brought him to the end which is knowne, and before that, to the moſt ſhamefull diſheriting of his owne royall Siſters: and all this, by poſſeſſing firſt the principall men, that were in authority about him?

Wherefore ſir, if my Lord of *Leiceſter* have the ſame plot in his head (as moſt men thinke) and that he meaneth one day to give the ſame puſh at the Crowne by the Houſe of *Huntington*, againſt all the race and line of King *Henry* the ſeventh in generall, which his Father gave before him, by pretence of the Houſe of *Suffolke*, againſt the Children of King *Henry* the eight in particular; he wanteth not reaſon to follow the ſame

meanes

meanes and platform of planting ſpeciall perſons for his purpoſe about the Prince, for ſurely his fathers plot lacked no witty device or preparation, but onely that God overthrew it at the inſtant: (as happely he may doe this mans) alſo notwithſtanding any diligence that humane wiſedome can uſe to the contrary.

To this ſaid the Gentleman: that my Lord of Leyceſter hath a purpoſe to ſhoot one day at the Diadem by the title of Huntington, is not a thing obſcure in it ſelfe, and it ſhall bee more plainly proved hereafter. But now will I ſhew unto you for your inſtruction, how well this man hath followed his fathers platforme (or rather paſſed the ſame) in poſſeſſing himſelfe of all her Majeſties ſervants, friends, and forces, to ſerve his turne at that time for execution, and in the meane ſpace for preparation. *Gentleman.*

Leyceſters power in the privy Chamber.

First, in the privy Chamber, next unto her Majeſties perſon, the moſt part are his own creatures (as he calleth them) that is, ſuch as acknowledge their being in that place, from him: and the reſt he ſo over-ruleth, either by flattery or feare, as none may dare but to ſerve his turne. As his reign is ſo abſolute in this place, (as alſo in all other parts of the Court) as nothing can paſſe but by his admiſſion, nothing can be ſaid, done, or ſignified, whereof hee is not particularly advertiſed: no bill, no ſupplication, no complaint, no ſute, no ſpeech, can paſſe from any man to the Princeſſe (except it be from one of the Councell) but by his good liking: or if there doe, he being admoniſhed thereof (as preſently he ſhall,) the party delinquent is ſure after to abide the ſmart thereof. Whereby he holdeth as it were a locke upon the eares of his Prince, and the tongues of all her Majeſties ſervants, ſo ſurely chained to his girdle,

as no man dareth to speak any one thing that may offend him, though it be never so true or behovefull for her Majesty to know.

Leycester married at Waenstead: when her Maiesty was at M. Stoners Houf Doctor Culpeper Physition Minister.

As well appeared in the late marriage with Dame *Essex*, which albeit it was celebrated twise: first at Killingworth, and secondly at Waenstead (in the presence of the Earle of Warwick, Lord *North*, Sir *Francis Knowles*, and others) and this exactly known to the whole Court, with the very day, the place, the witnesses, and the Minister that married them together: yet no man durst open his mouth to make her Majesty privy therunto, untill Monsieur *Simiers* disclosed the same, (and therby incurred his high displeasure) nor yet in many dayes after for feare of *Leycester*. Which is a subjection most dishonorable and dangerous to any Prince living, to stand at the devotion of his subject, what to heare or not to heare of things that passe within his own Realme.

No sute can passe but by Leycester.

And herof it followeth that no sute can prevaile in Court, be it never so meane, except he first be made acquainted there with, and receive not only the thankes, but also be admitted unto a great part of the gaine and commodity therof. Which, as it is a great injury to the suter: so is it a far more greater to the bounty, honour and security of the Prince, by whose liberality this man feedeth only, and fortifieth himselfe, depriving his soveraigne of all grace, thanks and good will for the same. For which cause also he giveth out ordinarily, to every suter, that her Majesty is nigh and persimonious of her selfe, and very difficile to grant any sute, were it not only upon his incessant solicitation. Whereby he filleth his own purse the more, and emptieth the hearts of such as receive benefit, from due thankes to their Princes for the sute obtained.

Read Polidore in the 7. yeare of King Richard 2. and you shall find this proceeding of certaine about that K. to be put as a great cause of his overthrow.

Hereof

Hereof also ensueth, that no man may be preferred in Court (be he otherwise never so well a deserving servant to her Majesty) except he be one of *Leycesters* faction or followers: none can be advanced, except he be liked and preferred by him: none receive grace, except he stand in his good favour, no one may live in countenance, or quiet of life, except he take it, use it, acknowledge it from him, so as all the favours, graces, dignities, riches and rewards, which her Majesty bestoweth, or the Realme can yeeld, must serve to purchase this man private friends, and favourers, onely to advance his party, and to fortifie his faction. Which faction if by these meanes it be great, (so as indeed it is:) you may not marvile, seeing the riches and wealth, of so worthy a Common weale, doe serve him but for a price to buy the same.

No preferments but by Leycestrians.

Which thing himselfe well knowing, frameth his spirit of proceeding accordingly. And first, upon confidence thereof, is become so insolent and impotent of his Ire that no man may beare the same, how justly or injustly soever it bee conceived: for albeit he begin to hate a man upon bare surmises onely (as commonly it falleth out, ambition being always the mother of suspition) yet he prosecuteth the same with such implacable cruelty, as there is no long abiding for the party in that place. As might bee shewed by the examples of many whom hee hath chased from the Court, upon his only displeasure, without other cause, being known to be otherwise, zealous Protestant. As Sir *Ierome Bowes*, Mr. *George Scot*, and others that we could name.

Leycesters anger and insolency.

To this insolency is also joyned (as by nature it followeth) most absolute and peremptory dealing in all things whereof it pleaseth him to dis-

Leycesters peremptory dealing.

pose, without respect either of reason, order, due, right, subordination, custome, conveniency, or the like: whereof notwithstanding Princes themselves are wont to have regard in disposition of their matters: as for example, among the servants of the Queenes Majesties household, it is an ancient and most commendable order and custome, that when a place of higher roome falleth voyd, he that by succession is next, and hath made proof of his worthinesse in an inferiour place, should rise and possesse the same, (except it be for some extraordinary cause) to the end that no man unexperienced or untryed, should be placed in the higher roomes the first day, to the prejudice of others, and disservice of the Prince.

Breaking of order in her Maiesties household.

Which most reasonable custome this man contemning and breaking at his pleasure, thrusteth into higher roomes any person whatsoever, so he like his inclination, or feele his reward: albeit he neither be fit for the purpose, nor have beene so much as Clarke in any inferiour office before.

Leycesters violating of all order in the Country abroad.

The like hee useth out of the Court, in all other places where matters should passe by order, election, or degree: as in the Vniversities, in election of Scholars, and Heads of houses, in Ecclesiasticall persons, for dignities in Church, in Officers, Magistrates, Stewards of lands, Sheriffes and knights of Shires, in Burgesses of the Parliament, in Commissioners, Judges, Justices of the peace, (whereof many in every shire must weare his livery) and all other the like: where this mans will must stand for reason, and his letters for absolute lawes, neither is there any man, magistrate, or communer in the Realme, who dareth not sooner deny their petition of her Majesties letters, upon just causes (for that her highnesse is content after to be satisfied with reason) then to resist the commandement

mandement of this mans letters, who will admit no excuse or satisfaction, but onely the execution of his said commandement, be it right or wrong.

To this answered the Lawyer, Now verily, sir, you paint unto me a strange patterne of a perfect Potentate in the Court: belike that stranger, who calleth our State in his printed booke *Leycestrensem Rempublicam*, a Leycestrian Commonwealth, or the Commonwealth of my Lord of Leycester, knoweth much of these matters. But to hold, sir, still within the Court: I assure you that by considerations, which you have laid downe, I doe begin now to perceive that his party must needs be very great and strong within the said Court, seeing that hee hath so many wayes and meanes to encrease, enrich, and encourage the same, and so strong abilities to tread downe his enemies. The common speech of many wanteth not reason, I perceive, which calleth him the heart and life of the Court. *Lawyer.* A Leycestrian Commonwealth

They which cal him the heart (said the Gentleman) upon a little occasion more, would call him also the head: and then I marvell what should bee left for her Majesty, when they take from her both life, heart, and headship in her own Realme? But the truth is, that he hath the Court at this day in almost the same case as his father had it in King *Edwards* dayes, by the same device, (the Lord forbid that ever it come fully to the same state, for then we know what ensued to the principall:) and if you will have an evident demonstration of this mans power and favour in that place, call you but to minde the times when her Majesty upon most just and urgent occasions, did withdraw but a little her wonted favour and countenance towards him: did not all *Gentleman.* Leycester called the heart and life of the Court.

A demonstration of Leycesters tyranny in the Court.

the Court as it were, mutiny presently? did not every man hang the lippe? except a few, who afterward paid sweetly for their mirth; were there not every day new devices sought out, that some should be on their knees to her Majesty, some should weepe and put finger in their eyes: other should find out certaine covert manner of threatning: other reasons and perswasions of love: other of profit: other of honour: other of necessity: and all to get him recalled back to favour againe? And had her Majesty any rest permitted unto her, untill she had yeelded and granted to the same?

Leycester provideth never to come in the Queenes danger againe.

Consider then (I pray you) that if at that time, in his disgrace, he had his faction so fast assured to himself: what hath he now in his prosperity, after so many yeares of fortification? wherin by all reason he hath not been negligent, seeing that in policy the first point of good fortification is, to make that fort impregnable, which once hath been in danger to be lost. Wherof you have an example in *Richard* Duke of York, in the time of K. *Henry* the sixt, who being once in the Kings hands by his own submission, and dismissed againe (when for his deserts, he should have suffered) provided after, the King should never be able to over-reach him the second time, or have him in his power to do him hurt, but made himselfe strong enough to pull downe the other with extirpation of his family.

Anno Regni 31.

And this of the Court, household and Chamber of her Majesty. But now if we shall passe from Court to Councell, we shall find him no lesse fortified but rather more: for albeit the providence of God hath bin such, that in this most honourable assemblie, there hath not wanted some two or three of the wisest, gravest, and most experienced

Leycesters puissance in the privy Councell.

in

in our ſtate, that have ſeen and marked this mans perillous proceedings from the beginning, (wherof notwithſtanding two are now deceaſed, and their places ſupplied to *Leyceſters* good liking:) yet (alas) the wiſdom of theſe worthy men, hath diſcovered alwayes more, then their authorities were able to redreſſe: (the others great power and violence conſidered) and for the reſidue of that bench and table, though I doubt not but there be divers, who do in heart deteſt his doings (as there were alſo, no doubt among the Councellours of King *Edward*, who miſlikeeth this mans fathers attempts, though not ſo hardy as to contrary the ſame:) yet for moſt part of the Councell preſent, they are known to be ſo affected in particular, the one for that he is to him a Brother, the other a Father, the other a Kinſman, the other an allie, the other a faſt obliged friend, the other a fellow or follower in faction, as none will ſtand in the breach againſt him: none dare reſiſt or encounter his deſignement: but every man yeelding rather to the force of his flow, permitteth him to pierce, and paſſe at his pleaſure in whatſoever his will is once ſetled to obtaine.

L. Keeper.
L. Chamberlain.

And hereof (were I not ſtaied for reſpect of ſome whom I may not name) I could alledge ſtrang examples, not ſo much in affaires belonging to ſubjects and to privat men, as (were the cauſe of *Snowden* forreſt, *Denbigh* of *Kilkingworth*, of his faire Pictures fouly procured by *Southam*, of the Archb ſh. of *Canterbury*, of the L. *Barkley*, of Sir *John Throgmarton*, of M. *Robinſon* and the like;) wherin thoſe of the Councell that diſliked his doings, leaſt dared to oppoſe themſelves to the ſame, but alſo in things that appertaine directly to the Crown and dignity, to the State and Common-weal, and to the ſafety and continuance therof. It is not ſecure for

Matters wherin the Councell are inforced to wink at Leyceſter.

any one Councellor, or other of authority, to take notice of my Lords errours or misdeeds, but with extreame perill of their owne ruine.

Leycesters intelligence with the rebellion in Ireland.

As for example: in the beginning of the rebellion in Ireland, when my Lord of Leycester was in some disgrace, and consequently, as hee imagined, but in fraile state at home, he thought it not unexpedient, for his better assurance, to hold some intelligence also that way, for all events, and so he did: whereof there was so good evidence and testimony found, upon one of the first of accompt, that was there slaine, (as honourable personages of their knowledge have assured me) as would have beene sufficient, to touch the life of any subject in the land, or in any state Christian, but onely my Lord of Leycester, who is a subject without subjection.

For what thinke you? durst any man take notice hereof, or avouch that he had seen thus much? durst he that tooke it in Ireland, deliver the same where especially hee should have done? or they who received it in England, for it came to great hands, use it to the benefit of their Princesse and Countrey? No surely: for if it had beene but onely suspected that they had seene such a thing, it would have beene as dangerous unto them as it was to *Actæon* to have seene *Diana* and her maidens naked: whose case is so common now in England as nothing more, and so doe the examples of divers well declare: whose unfortunate knowledge of too many secrets brought them quickly to unfortunate ends.

Actæons case now come in England.

Salvatour slaine in his bed.

For we heare of one *Salvatour* a stranger, long used in great mysteries of base affaires and dishoneſt actions, who afterward (upon what demerit I know not) sustained a hard fortune, for being late with my Lord in his study, well neare untill mid-

midnight, (if I be rightly informed) went home to his chamber, and the next morning was found slaine in his bed. Wee heare also of one *Doughty*, hanged in haste by Captaine *Drake* upon the Sea, and that by order, as is thought, before his departure out of England, for that he was over privy to the secrets of this good Earle.

Doughty hanged by Drake.

There was also this last Summer past, one *Gates* hanged at Tiborne, among others, for robbing of Carriers, which *Gates* had beene lately Clarke of my Lords kitching, and had layd out much money of his owne, as he said, for my Lords provision, being also otherwise in so great favour and grace with my Lord, as no man living was thought to bee more privy of his secrets then this man, whereupon also it is to be thought, that hee presumed the rather to commit this robbery, (for to such things doth my Lords good favour most extend,) and being apprehended, and in danger for the same, he made his recourse to his Honour for protection, as the fashion is, and that hee might hee borne out, as divers of lesse merit had beene by his Lordship, in more haynous causes before him.

The story of Gates hanged at Tiborne.

The good Earle answered his servant and deare Privado courteously, and assured him for his life, howsoever for outer shew and complement the forme of Law might passe against him. But *Gates* seeing himselfe condemned, and nothing now betweene his head and the halter, but the word of the Magistrate which might come in an instant, when it would bee too late to send to his Lord: remembring also the small assurance of his said Lords word by his former dealings towards other men, whereof this man was too much privy, he thought good to sollicite his case also by some other of his friends, though not so

puissant

puissant as his Lord and Master, who dealing indeed, both diligently and effectually in his affaire, found the matter more difficult a great deale then either he or they had imagined: for that my Lord of Leycester was not onely not his favourer, but a great hastener of his death under hand; and that with such care, diligence, vehemency, and irresistable meanes, (having the Law also on his side) that there was no hope at all of escaping: which thing when *Gates* heard of, he easily beleeved for the experience he had of his masters good nature, and said, that he alwayes mistrusted the same; considering how mush his Lordship was in debt to him, and hee made privy to his Lordships foule secrets, which secrets hee would there presently have uttered in the face of all the world, but that he feared torments or speedy death, with some extraordinary cruelty, if hee should so have done, and therefore hee disclosed the same onely to a Gentleman of worship, whom hee trusted specially, whose name I may not utter for some causes, (but it beginneth with H.) and I am in hope ere it be long, by meanes of a friend of mine, to have a sight of that discourse and report of *Gates*, which hitherto I have not seene nor ever spake I with the Gentleman that keepeth it, though I be well assured that the whole matter passed in substance as I have here recounted it.

Scholar. This relation of Gates may serve hereafter for an addition in the second edition of this booke.

Whereunto I answered, that in good faith it were pitty that this relation should be lost, for that it is very like, that many rare things bee declared therein, seeing it is done by a man so privie to the affaires themselves, wherein also hee had beene used an instrument. I will have it (quoth the Gentleman) or else my friends shall faile me, howbeit not so soone as I would, for that he is in the West Countrey that should procure

cure it for me, and will not returne for certaine months, but after I shall see him againe, I will not leave him untill he procure it for me, as hee hath promised: well (quoth I) but what is become of that evidence found in Ireland under my Lords hand, which no man dare pursue, avouch, or behold.

Truly (said the Gentleman) I am informed that it lyeth safely reserved in good custody, to be brought forth and avouched whensoever it shall please God so to dispose of her Majesties heart, as to lend an indifferent eare, as well to his accusers, as to himselfe, in judgement. *Gentleman.*

Neither must you thinke that this is strange, nor that the things are few which are in such sort reserved in decke for the time to come, even among great personages, and of high calling, for seeing the present state of his power to bee such, and the tempest of his tyranny to be so strong and boysterous, as no man may stand in the rage thereof, without perill, for that even from her Majesty her selfe, in the lenity of her Princely nature, hee extorteth what hee designeth, either by fraud, flattery, false information, request, pretence, or violent importunity, to the over-bearing of all, whom heo meaneth to oppresse: No marvaile then though many even of the best and faithfullest Subjects of the Land, doe yeeld to the present time, and doe keepe silence in some matters, that otherwise they would take it for dutie to utter. *The deck reserved for Leycester.* *Leycesters puissant violence with the Prince her selfe.*

And in this kind it is not long sithence a worshipfull and wise friend of mine told mee a testimony in secret, from the mouth of as noble and grave a Councellour as England hath enjoyed these many hundred yeares: I meane the late

The Earle of Suſſex his ſpeech of the Earle of Leyceſter.

late Lord Chamberlaine, with whom my ſaid friend being alone at his houſe in London, not twenty dayes before his death, conferred ſomewhat familiarly about theſe and like matters, as with a true father of his Countrey and Commonwealth: and after many complaints in the behalf of divers, who had opened their griefs unto Councellours, and ſaw that no notice would be taken thereof, the ſaid Nobleman, turning himſelfe ſomewhat about from the water, (for hee ſate neare his pond ſide, where hee beheld the taking of a Pike or Carpe) ſaid to my friend, It is no marvell, ſir, for who dareth intermeddle himſelfe in my Lords affaires? I will tell you (quoth he) in confidence betweene you and me, there is as wiſe a man and as grave, and as faithfull a Councellour as England breedeth, (meaning thereby the Lord Treaſurer) who hath as much of his keeping of Leyceſters owne hand-writing, as is ſufficient to hang him, if either he durſt preſent the ſame to her Majeſty, or her Majeſty doe juſtice when it ſhould be preſented. But indeed (quoth he) the time permitteth neither of them both, and therefore it is in vaine for any man to ſtruggle with him.

The Lord Burghley.

Theſe were that Noblemans words, whereby you may conſider whether my Lord of Leyceſter be ſtrong this day in Councell or no: and whether his fortification be ſufficient in that place.

Leyceſters power in the countrey abroad.

But now if out of the Councell, we will turne our eye in the Countrey abroad, we ſhall finde as good fortification alſo there, as we have peruſed already in Court and Councell: and ſhall well perceive that this mans plot is no fond or indiſcreet plot, but excellent well grounded, and ſuch as in all proportions hath his due correſpondence.

Conſi-

Consider then the chiefe and principall parts of this land for martiall affaires, for use and commodity of armour, for strength, for opportunity, for liberty of the people, as dwelling fartheſt off from the preſence and aſpect of their Prince, ſuch parts (I ſay) as are fitteſt for ſudden enterpriſes, without danger of interception: as are the North, the Weſt, the Countries of Wales, the Iſlands round about the land, and ſundry other places within the ſame: are they not all at this day at his diſpoſition? are they not all (by his procurement) in the onely hands of his friends and allyes? or of ſuch, as by other matches have the ſame complot and purpoſe with him?

In Yorke is preſident the man that of all other is fitteſt for that place, that is, his neareſt in affinity, his deareſt in friendſhip, the head of his faction, and open competitor of the Scepter. In Barwicke is a Captaine, his wives uncle, moſt aſſured to himſelfe and Huntington, as one who at convenient time may as much advance their deſignements, as any one man in England.

Yorke Barle of Huntington.

Barwick. The Lord Hunſden.

In Wales the chiefe authority from the Prince is in his owne brother in law: but among the people, of naturall affection, is in the Earle of Pembrooke, who both by marriage of his ſiſters daughter is made his ally, and by dependance is knowne to be wholly at his diſpoſition.

Wales. Sir Henry Sidney The Earle of Pembrooke.

The Weſt part of England is under Bedford, a man wholly devoted to his and the Puritans faction.

The Weſt. Earle of Bedford.

In Ireland was governour of late the principal inſtrument appointed for their purpoſes: both in reſpect of his heat and affection toward their deſignements, as alſo of ſome ſecret diſcontentment which he hath towards her Majeſty and the ſtate preſent,

The Lord Grey.

† Her Maiesty (as he saith) for striking of Master Fortescue, calling him lame wretch: that grieved him so, (for that he was hurt in her service at Lieth) as he said, he would live to be revenged.

present for certaine hard † speeches and ingrate recompences, as he pretendeth: but indeed for that he is knowne to bee of nature fyrie, and impatient of stay, from seeing that Commonwealth on foot, which the next competitours for their gaine have painted out to him and such others, more pleasant then the Terrestriall Paradise it selfe.

This then is the *Hector*, this is the *Ajax* appointed for the enterprise, when the time shall come. This must be (forsooth) another *Richard* of Warwicke, to gaine the Crowne for *Henry* the ninth of the House of Yorke: as the other *Richard* did put downe *Henry* the sixt of the House of Lancaster, and placed *Edward* the fourth, from whom Huntington deriveth his title therefore this man is necessarily to be entertained from time to time (as we see now he is) in some charge and martiall action, to the end his experience, power, and credit may grow the more, and he be able at the time to have souldiers at his commandment. And for the former charge which held of late in Ireland, as this man had not beene called away, but for execution of some other secret purpose, * for advancement of their designements: so bee well assured that for the time to come, it is to bee furnished againe with a sure and fast friend to Leycester and to that faction.

* In Scotland, or elswhere, against the next inheritors, or present possessor.

Sir Iohn Parott.

In the Ile of Wight I grant that Leycester hath lost a great friend and a trusty servant by the death of Captaine *Horsey*, but yet the matter is supplied by the succession of another, no lesse assured unto him then the former, or rather more, through the band of affinity by his wife. The two Ilands of Gersey and Gernsey are in the possession of two friends and most obliged dependents. The one, by reason he is exceedingly addicted to

Sir Edward Horsey.

Sir George Carew.

Sir Amias Paulet

Sir Thomas Layton.

the

the Puritan proceedings: the other, as now being joyned unto him by the marriage of mistris *Besse*, his wives sister, both daughters to Sir *Francis*, or (at least) to my Lady *Knooles*, and so become a rivall, companion and brother, who was before (though trusty) yet but his servant.

And these are the chiefe Keyes, Fortresses, and Bulwarkes, within, without and about the Realm, which my Lord of Leycester possessing, (as hee doth) hee may be assured of the body within: where notwithstanding (as hath beene shewed) he wanteth no due preparation for strength: having at his disposition (besides all aydes and other helpes specified before) her Majesties horse, and stables, by interest of his owne office: her Armour, Artillery, and Munition, by the office of his brother the Earle of Warwicke. The Tower of London and treasure therein, by the dependence of Sir *Owin Hopton* his sworne servant, as ready to rescue and furnish him with the whole, if occasion served, as one of his predecessours was, to receive his Father in King *Edwards* dayes, for the like effect, against her Majesty and her Sister.

Her Maiesties stable, her armour, munition, and artillery The Tower.

And in the City of London it selfe, what this man at a pinch could doe, by the helpe of some of the principall men, and chiefe Leaders, and (as it were) Commanders of the Commons there, and by the bestirring of *Fleetwood* his madde Recorder, and other such his instruments: as also in all other Townes, Ports, and Cities of importance, by such of his owne setting up, as hee hath placed there to serve his designements, and Justices of peace, with other, that in most Shires doe weare his livery, and are at his appointment: the simplest man within the Realme doth consider.

London. Sir Rowland Heyward, &c. Mad Fleetwood, *Gentleman*.

Where-

Whereunto if you adde now his owne forces and furniture which hee hath in Killingworth Castle, and other places, as also the forces of Huntington in particular, with their friends, followers, allies and compartenors, you shall finde that they are not behinde in their preparations.

Scholar.

My Lord of Huntingtons preparation at Ashby.

For my Lord of Huntingtons forwardnesse in the cause (said I) there is no man, I thinke, which maketh doubt: marry for his private forces, albeit they may be very good, for any thing I doe know to the contrary, (especially at his house within five and twenty miles of Killingworth, where one told mee some yeares past, that he had furniture ready for five thousand men:) yet do I not think but they are farre inferiour to my Lord of Leycester, who is taken to have excessive store, and that in divers places.

Killingworth Castle.

And as for the Castle last mentioned by you, there are men of good intelligence, and of no small judgement, who report that in the same he hath to furnish ten thousand good souldiers, of all things necessary both for horse and man, besides all other munition, armour, and artillery, (whereof great store was brought thither under pretence of triumph, when her Majesty was there, and never as yet carried backe againe) and besides the great abundance of ready coyne there (as is said) sufficient for any great exploit to bee done within the Realme.

And I know that the estimation of this place was such, among divers, many yeares agoe: as when at a time her Majesty lay dangerously sick, and like to dye, at Hampton Court, a certaine Gentleman of the Court came unto my Lord of Huntington, and told him, that for so much as he tooke his Lord to be next in succession after her Majesty, hee would offer him a meane of great helpe for compassing of his purpose, after the

Ralph Lane.

discease

deceaſe of her Majeſty which was, the poſſeſſion of Killingworth Caſtle (for at that time theſe two Earles were not yet very friends, nor confederate together) and that being had, he ſhewed to the Earle the great furniture and wealth which thereby he ſhould poſſeſſe for purſuit of his purpoſe. *The offer and acceptation of Killingworth Caſtle.*

The propoſition was well liked, and the matter eſteemed of great importance, and conſequently received with many thankes. But yet afterward her Majeſty by the good providence of God, recovering againe, letted the execution of the bargaine and my Lord of Huntington having occaſion to joyne amity with Leyceſter, had more reſpect to his owne commodity, then to his friends ſecurity, (as commonly in ſuch perſons and caſes it falleth out) and ſo diſcovered the whole device unto him, who forgat not after, from time to time, to plague the deviſer by ſecreet means, untill he had brought him to that poore eſtate, as all the world ſeeth: though many men be not acquainted with the true cauſe of this his diſgrace and bad fortune.

To this anſwered the Lawyer: In good faith (Gentlemen) you open great myſteries unto me, which either I knew not, or conſidered not ſo particularly before; and no marvell, for that my profeſſion and exerciſe of Law, reſtraineth me from much company keeping: and when I happen to be among ſome that could tell mee much herein, I dare not either aske, or heare if any of himſelfe beginne to talke, leſt afterward the ſpeech comming to light, I be fetched over the coales (as the proverb is) for the ſame, under pretence of another thing. But you (who are not ſuſpected for religion) have much greater priviledge in ſuch matters, both to heare and ſpeake againe, which men of mine eſtate dare not doe. Onely this I *Lawyer.*

The prerogative of my Lord of Leycester.

knew before, that throughout all England my Lord of Leycester is taken for *Dominus fac totum*: whose excellency above others is infinite, whose authority is absolute, whose cõmandment is dreadfull, whose dislike is dangerous, and whose favour is omnipotent.

And for his will, though it be seldome Law, yet alwayes is his power above law: and therefore wee Lawyers in all cases brought unto us, have as great regard to his inclination, as Astronomers have to the Planet dominant, or as Seamen have to the North Pole.

Leycester the Star directory to Lawyers in their clients affaires.

For as they that saile, doe direct their course according to the situation and direction of that starre which guideth them at the Pole: and as Astronomers who make Prognostications, doe foretell things to come, according to the aspect of the Planet dominant, or bearing rule for the time: so we doe guide our Clients barke, and do prognosticate what is like to ensue of his cause, by the aspect and inclination of my Lord of Leycester. And for that reason, as soone as ever wee heare a case proposed, our custome is to ask, what part my Lord of Leycester is like to favour in the matter, (for in all matters lightly of any importance he hath a part) or what may be gathered of his inclination therein: and according to that we give a guesse, more or lesse, what end will ensue. But this (my Masters) is from the purpose: and therefore returning to your former speech againe, I do say, that albeit I was not privy before to the particular provisions of my Lord and his friends, in such and such places: yet seeing him accompted Lord Generall over all the whole Realme, and to have at his commandement all these severall commodities and forces pertaining to her Majesty which you have mentioned be-

fore,

fore, and so many more as be in the Realme, and not mentioned by you (for in fine he hath al:) I could not but account him (as hee is) a potent Prince of our State, for all furniture needfull to defence or offence, or rather the onely Monarch of our Nobility, who hath sufficient needfull to plunge his Prince, if he should bee discontented, especially for his abundance of money, (which, by the wise, is tearmed the Sinewes of Martiall actions) wherein by all mens judgements, hee is better furnished at this day, then ever any subject of our land, either hath beene heretofore, or lightly may be hereafter, both for bankes without the Realme, and stuffed coffers within. Insomuch that being my selfe in the last Parliament, when the matter was moved for the grant of a Subsidie, after that, one for her Majesty had given very good reasons, why her Highnesse was in want of money, and consequently needed the assistance of her faithfull subjects therein, another that sate next me, of good account, said in mine eare secretly, these reasons I doe well allow, and am contented to give my part in money: but yet for her Majesties need, I could make answer as one answered once the Emperour *Tiberius* in the like case and cause, *Abundè ei pecuniam fore, si à liberto suo in societatem recipietur*; that her Majesty should have Money enough, if one of her servants would vouchsafe to make her Highnesse partaker with him; meaning thereby my Lord of Leycester, whose treasure must needs in one respect be greater then that of her Majesty; for that he layeth up whatsoever he getteth, and his expences he casteth upon the purse of his Princesse.

Leycesters furniture in money.

The saying of a Knight of the Shire touching Leycesters mony

For that (said the Gentleman) whether he doe or no, it importeth little to the matter: seeing both that which hee spendeth, and that he hord-

Gentleman.

eth, is truly and properly his Princes Treasure: and seeing hee hath so many and divers wayes of gaining, what should he make account of his own private expences? if hee lay out one for a thousand, what can that make him the poorer? hee that hath so goodly land, possessions, Seignories, and rich offices of his owne, as he is knowne to have: hee that hath so speciall favour and authority with the Prince, as he can obtaine whatsoever he list to demand: he that hath his part and portion in all suites besides, that passe by grace, or else (for the most part) are ended by Law: he that may chop and change what lands hee listeth with her Majesty, unpeople them of all their woods and other commodities, and rack them afterward to the uttermost penny, and then returne the same so tenter-stretched, and bare shorne, into her Majesties hands againe, by fresh exchange, rent for rent, for other lands never enhansed before hee that possesseth so many gainfull Licences to himselfe alone, of Wine, Oyles, Currants, Cloath, Velvets, with his new office for Licence of alienation, most pernicious unto the Commonwealth as hee useth the same, with many other the like, which were sufficient to enrich whole Townes, Corporations, Countries and Commonwealths: he that hath the art, to make gainfull to himselfe every offence, displeasure, and falling out of her Majesty with him, and every angry countenance cast upon him: he that hath his share in all offices of great profit, and holdeth an absolute Monopoly of the same: he that disposeth at his will the Ecclesiasticall livings of the Realme, maketh Bishops, none, but such as will doe reason, or of his Chaplains whom he listeth, and retaineth to himselfe so much of the living as liketh him best: hee that sweepeth away the glebe from so many Benefices

The infinit waies of gaining that Leycester hath.

Sutes.

Lands.

Licences.

Falling out with her Majesty.

Offices.

Clergy.

nefices throughout the Land, and compoundeth with the perſon for the rent. He that ſo ſcourreth the Univerſity and Colledges where he is Chancellour, and ſelleth both Headſhips and Scholers places, and all other offices, roomes and dignities, that by art or violence may yeeld money: he that maketh title to what land or other thing he pleaſe, and driveth the parties to compound for the ſame ſame: he that taketh in whole Foreſts, Commons, Woods, and Paſtures to himſelfe, compelling the Tenants to make him pay new rent, and what he ceſſeth: he that vexeth and oppreſſeth whomſoever hee liſt, taketh from any what hee liſt, and maketh his owne claime, ſuit, and end as he liſt: he that ſelleth his favour with the Prince, both abroad in forraine countries, and at home, and ſetteth the price thereof what himſelfe will demand: he that hath and doth all this, and beſides this, hath infinite preſents daily brought unto him of great value, both in Jewels, Plate, all kinde of Furniture, and ready Come: this man (I ſay) may eaſily beare his owne expences, and yet lay up ſufficiently alſo to weary his Prince when need ſhall require.

Benefices.

Univerſity.

Oppreſſions.

Rapines.

Princes favour.

Preſents.

You have ſaid much, ſir, (quoth the Lawyer) and ſuch matter as toucheth nearly both her Majeſty and the Commonwealth: and yet in my conſcience if I were to plead at the barre for my Lord, I could not tell which of all theſe members to deny. But for that which you mention in the laſt part, of his gaining by her Majeſties favour, both at home and abroad: Touching his homegaine, it is evident, ſeeing all that he hath is gotten onely by the opinion of her Majeſties favour towards him, and many men doe repaire unto him with fat preſents, rather for that they ſuppoſe he may by his favour do them hurt, if he ſeele not

Lawyer.

Leyceſters homegaine by her Majeſties favour.

their reward, then for that they hope he will labour any thing in their affaires.

Apretty ſtory.

You remember (I doubt not) the ſtory of him that offered his Prince a great yearly rent, to have but this favour onely, that hee might come every day in open audience, and ſay in his eare, God ſave your Majeſty, aſſuring himſelfe, that by the opinion of confidence and ſecret favour, which hereby the people would conceive to be in the Prince towards him, he ſhould eaſily get up his rent againe double told. Wherefore my Lord of Leyceſter receiving daily from her Majeſty greater tokens of grace and favour then this, and himſelfe being no evill Merchant, to make his owne bargaine for the beſt of his commodities, cannot but gaine exceedingly at home by his favour.

Leyceſters forraine gaine by her Maieſties favour.

And for his lucre abroad upon the ſame cauſe, I leave to other men to conceive what it may be, ſithence the beginning of her Majeſties reigne, the times whereof and condition of all Chriſtendome hath beene ſuch, as all the Princes and Potentates round about us, have beene conſtrained at one time or other, to ſue to her Highneſſe for aid, grace, or favour: in all which ſutes, men uſe not to forget (as you know) the parties moſt able by their credit, to further or let the ſame.

In particular onely this I can ſay, that I have heard of ſundry Frenchmen, that at ſuch time as the treaty was betweene France and England, for the re-delivery of Callis unto us againe, in the firſt yeare of her Majeſties reigne that now is, when the Frenchmen were in great diſtreſſe and miſery, and King *Philip* refuſed abſolutely to make peace with them, except Callis were reſtored to England (whither for that purpoſe he had now delivered the French hoſtages:) the Frenchmen

doe

doe report (I say) that my Lord of Leycester stood them in great stead at that necessity, for his reward, (which you may well imagine was not small, for a thing of such importance) and became a suiter, that peace might be concluded, with the release of Callis to the French: which was one of the most impious facts (to say the truth,) that ever could be devised against his Commonwealth. Leycesters bribe for betraying of Callis.

A small matter in him (said the Gentleman) for in this he did no more, but as Christ said of the Jewes that they filled up the measure of their Fathers sinnes. And so if you reade the story of King *Edwards* time, you shall finde it most evident, that this mans father before him, sold Bullogne to the French by like treachety. For it was delivered up upon composition, without necessity or reason, the five and twentieth of April, in the fourth year of King *Edward* the sixt, when he (I meane Duke *Dudley*) had now put in the Tower the Lord Protector, and thrust out of the Councell whom he listed, as namely, the Earles of Arundel and Southampton, and so invaded the whole government himselfe, to sell, spoile, or dispose at his pleasure. Wherefore this is but naturall to my Lord of Leycester by descent, to make merchandise of the State, for his Grandfather *Edmund* also was such a kinde of Capesman. *Gentleman.* Leycesters father sold Bullogne. Earles of Arundel and Southampton put out of the Councell by D. Dudley.

An evill race of Merchants for the Commonwealth (quoth the Lawyer) but yet, Sir, I pray you (said he) expound unto me somewhat more at large, the nature of these licences which you named, as also the changing of lands with her Majesty, if you can set it downe any plainer: for they seeme to be things of excessive gaine: especially his way of gaining by offending her Majesty, or *Lawyer.*

by her Highneſſe offence towards him, for it ſeemeth to be a device above all skill or reaſon.

Leyceſters gaine by falling out with her Maieſty

Not ſo (quoth the Gentleman) for you know that every falling out muſt have an attonement againe, whereof hee being ſure by the many and puiſſant meanes of his friends in Court, as I have ſhewed before, who ſhall not give her Majeſty reſt untill it be done: then for this attonement, and in perfect reconciliation on her Majeſties part ſhe muſt grant my Lord ſome ſute or other, which he will have alwayes ready provided for that purpoſe, and this ſute ſhall bee well able to reward his friends, that laboured for his reconcilement, and leave alſo a good remainder for himſelfe. And this is now ſo ordinary a practice with him, as all the Realme obſerveth the ſame, and diſdaineth that her Majeſty ſhould bee ſo unworthily abuſed. For if her Highneſſe fall not out with him as often as he deſireth to gaine this way, then he picketh ſome quarrell or other, to ſhew himſelfe diſcontented with her, ſo that one way or other, this gainfull reconciliation muſt be made, and that often for his commodity. The like art he exerciſeth in inviting her Majeſty to his banquets, and to his houſes, where if ſhee come, ſhe muſt grant him in ſutes, tenne times ſo much as the charges of all amount unto: ſo that *Robin* playeth the Broker in all his affaires, and maketh the uttermoſt penny of her Majeſty every way.

Gentleman. Now for his change of lands, I thinke I have beene reaſonable plaine before: yet for your fuller ſatisfaction, you ſhall underſtand his further dealing therein, to be in this ſort. Beſides the good lands, and of ancient poſſeſſion to the Crowne, procured at her Majeſties hand, and uſed as before was declared: hee uſeth the ſame tricke for his worſt lands, that he poſ-

ſeſſeth

ſeſſeth any way, whether they come to him, by extort meanes and plaine oppreſſion, or through maintenance and broken titles, or by couſenage of ſimple Gentlemen, to make him their heire, or by what hard title or unhoneſt meanes ſo ever, (for hee practizeth ſtore of ſuch and thinketh little of the reckoning:) after he had tried them likewiſe to the uttermoſt touch, and letten them out to ſuch as ſhall gaine but little by the bargaine: then goeth he and changeth the ſame with her Majeſty for the beſt lands he can pick out of the Crowne, to the end that hereby he may both enforce her Majeſty to the defence of his bad titles, and himſelfe fill his coffers with the fines and uttermoſt commodity of both the lands.

Leyceſters fraudulent change of lands with her Majeſty whereby he hath notably endammaged the Crowne.

His licences do ſtand thus: firſt he got licence for certaine great numbers of cloaths, to be tranſported out of this land, which might have beene an undoing to the Marchant ſubject, if they had not redeemed the ſame with great ſummes of money: ſo that it redounded to great dammage of all occupied about that kind of commodity. After that he had the grant for carrying over of barrell ſtaves and of ſome other ſuch like wares. Then procured hee a Monopolie, for bringing in of ſweet wines, oyles, currants and the like: the gaine whereof is ineſtimable. He had alſo the forfeit of all wine that was to be drawn above the old ordinary price, with licence to give authority to ſell above that price: wherin Captaine *Horſey* was his inſtrument, by which meanes it is incredible what treaſure and yearely rent was gathered of the Vintners throughout the land.

Leyceſters licenſes.

To this adde now his licence of ſilkes and velvets, which only were enough to enrich the Major and Aldermen of London, if they were all decried

Silkes and Velvets.

(as often I have heard divers Marchants affirme.) And his licence of alienation of lands, which (as in part I have opened before) serveth him not onely to excessive gaine, but also for an extreame scourge, wherewith to plague whom he pleaseth in the Realm. For seeing that without this licence, no man can buy, sell, passe, or alienate, any land that any wayes may be drawne to that tenure, as holden in chiefe of the Prince: (as commonly now most land may) he calleth into question what soever liketh him best, be it never so cleare: and under this colour, not only enricheth himselfe without all measure, but revengeth himselfe also, where he will, without all order.

The Tyrannicall licence of alienation.

Gentlemen.

Here the Lawyer stood still a pretty while, biting his lip, as he were astonished, and then said; Verily I have not heard so many and so apparant things, or so odious, of any man that ever lived in our Common wealth. And I marvaile much of my Lord of *Leycester*, that his Grandfathers fortune doth not move him much, who lost his head in the beginning of King *Henry* the eights dayes, for much lesse and fewer offences, in the same kind, committed in the time of King *Henry* the seventh: for he was thought to be the inventour of these poolings and molestations, wherewith the people were burthened, in the latter days of the said King. And yet had he great pretence of reason to alledged for himselfe: in that these exactions were made to the Kings use, and not to his, (albeit no doubt) but his own gaine was also there. Master *Stow* writeth in his Cronicle, that in the time of his imprisonment in the Tower, he wrot a notable book, intituled The tree of Common wealth, which book the said *Stow* saith, that hee hath delivered to my Lord of *Leycester* many

Edmund Dudley.

Edmund Dudleis booke written in the Tower.

many years agone. And if the said book be so notable as Master *Stow* affirmeth: I marvile that his Lord in so many yeares, doth not publish the same, for the glory of his ancestors?

It may be (said the Gentleman) that the secrets therein contained, be such, as it seemeth good to my Lord, to use them onely himselfe, and to gather the fruit of the tree into his owne house alone. For if the tree of the Common-wealth in *Edmund Dudlis* book, be the Prince and his race: and the fruits to be gathered from that tree, bee riches, honours, dignities, and preferments: then no doubt, but as the writer *Edmund* was cunning therein: so have his two followers, *Iohn* and *Robert*, well studied and practized the same, or rather have, exceeded and farre passed the authour himselfe. The one of them gathering so eagerly, and with such vehemency, as he was like to have broken down the maine boughes for greedinesse: the other yet plucking and heaping so fast to himselfe and his friends, as it is and may be, most justly doubted, that when they have cropped all they can, from the tree left them by their father *Edmund* (I meane the race of King *Henry* the seventh) then will they pluck up the Stemme it self by the rootes, as unprofitable: and pitch in his place another Trunke that is the line of *Huntingron*) that may begin to feed a new, with fresh fruits againe, and so for a time content their appetites, untill of gatherers, they may become trees, (which is their finall purpose) to feed themselves at their own discretion. *Gentleman.* The supplanting of the race of Henry the 7. The inserting of Huntington.

And howsoever this be, it cannot be denied, but that *Edm. Dudlis* brood, have learned by this book, and by other meanes to be more cunning gatherers, then ever their first progenitor was, that made the book. First for that he made profession to gather Edmund Dudleies brood more cunning then himselfe.

ther to his Prince (though wickedly) and these men make demonstration, that they have gathered for themselves: and that with much more iniquity. Secondly, for that *Edmund Dudley* though hee got himselfe neare about the tree, yet was he content to stand on the ground, and to serve himselfe from the tree, as commodity was offered: but his children not esteeming that safe gathering, will needs mount aloft upon the tree, to pull, croppe, and rifle at their pleasure. And as in the second point the Sonne *John Dudley* was more subtile, then *Edmund* the Father: so in a third point, the Nephey *Robert Dudley* is more crafty then they both. For that, hee seeing the evill successe of those two that went before him, hee hath provided together so much in convenient time, and to make himselfe therewith so fat and strong, (wherein the other two failed) as he will never be in danger more, to be called to any accompt for the same.

Northumberland and Leycester with their Prince will not be ruled.

Lawyer. In good faith Sir (quoth the Lawyer) I thanke you heartily, for this pleasant discourse upon *Edmund Dudleis* tree of Common-wealth. And by your opinion, my Lord of Leycester is the most learned of all his kindred, and a very cunning Logitioner indeed, that can draw for himselfe so commodious conclusions, out of the perillous premisses of his progenitors.

Gentleman. No marvail (quoth the Gentleman) for that his L. is Master of Art in Oxford, and Chancelour besides of the same Vniversity, where he hath store (as you know) of many fine wits and good Logitioners at his commandement: and where he learneth not only the rules and art of cunning gathereing: but for the very practize (as I have touched before) seeing there is no one Colledge, or other

Leycester Master of Art, and a cunning Logitioner.

thing

thing of commodity within that place, where hence he hath not pulled, whatsoever was possibly to be gathered, either by art or violence.

Scholar. Touching Oxford (said I) for that I am an Universitie man my selfe, and have both experience of Cambridge, and good acquaintance with divers students of the other universitie. I can tell you enough, but in fine all tendeth to this conclusion, that by his Chancellorship, is cancelled almost all hope of good in that Universitie: and by his protection, it is very like soone to come to destruction. And surely if there were no other thing, to declare the odues and difference betwixt him and our Chancellour, (whom he cannot beare, for that every way he seeth him, to passe him in all honour and vertue) it were sufficient to behold the present state of the two Universities, whereof they are heads and governours.

Leycesters abusing and spoiling of Oxford.

The Lord Treasurer.

Cambridge. For our own, I will not say much, lest I might perhaps seeme partiall: but let the thing speak for it selfe. Consider the fruit of the Garden, and therby you may judge of the Gardiners diligence. Looke upon the Bishopricks, Pastorships, and Pulpits of England, and see whence principally they have received their furniture for advancement of the Gospell. And on the contrary side, looke upon the Seminaries of Papistry at Rome and Rhems, upon the Colledges of Jesuists, and other companies of Papists beyond the seas, and see where-hence they are, especially, fraught.

The Priests and Jesuists here executed within the land, and other that remaine either in prison, or abroad in corners: are they not all (in a manner) of that Universitie? I speak not to the disgrace of any good that remaine there, or that have issued out thence into the Lords Vineyard: but for the

the most part there, of this our time, have they not either gone beyond the seas, or left their places for discontentment in Religion, or else become Servingmen, or followed the bare name of Law or Physick, without greatly profiting therein, or furthering the service of Gods Church, or their Commonwealth?

The disorders of Oxford by the wickednesse of their Chancellor

And wherehence (I pray you) ensueth all this, but by reason that the chiefe Governour thereof is an Atheist himselfe, and useth the place onely for gaine and spoile? for herehence it commeth, that all good order and discipline is dissolved in that place, the fervour of study extinguished: the publique Lectures abandoned (I meane of the more part:) the Tavernes and Ordinary tables frequented: the apparell of Students growne monstruous: and the statutes and good ordinance both of the University and of every Colledge and Hall in private, broken and infringed at my Lords good pleasure, without respect either of oath, custome, or reason to the contrary. The heads and Officers are put in and out at his onely discretion: and the Scholars places either sold, or disposed by his letters, or by these of his servants and followers: nothing can be had there, now, without present money: it is as common buying and selling of places in that University, as of horses in Smithfield: whereby the good and vertuous are kept out, and companions thrust in, fit to serve his Lord afterward, in all affaires that shall occurre.

Leases.

And as for leases of Farmes, Woods, Pastures, Personages, Benefices, or the like, which belong any way to any part of the University, to let or bestow, these, his Lord and his Servants have so fleeced, thorne, and scraped already, that there remaineth little to feed upon hereafter: albeit hee

want

want not ſtill his ſpies and intelligences in the place, to adverteſe him from time to time, when any new little morſell is offered. And the principall inſtruments which for this purpoſe he hath had there before this, have been two Phyſitians, *Bayly* and *Culpeper*, both knowne Papiſts a little while agoe, but now juſt of *Galens* religion, and ſo much the fitter for my Lords humour: for his Lordſhip doth alwaies covet, to be furniſhed with certaine choſen men about him, for divers affairs: as theſe two Galeniſts in the Univerſity: *Dee* and *Allen* (two Atheiſts) for figuring and conjuring: *Iulio* the Italian, and *Lopas* the Jew, for poiſoning, and for the art of deſtroying children in womens bellies: *Verneis* for murdering: *Digbies* for * Bauds: and the like in occupations which his Lordſhip exerciſeth. Leyceſters inſtruments.

* At Digbies houſe in Warwickſhire dame Lettice lay, and ſome other ſuch pieces of pleaſure.

Wherefore to returne to the ſpeech where we began: moſt cleare it is, that my Lord of Leyceſter hath meanes to gaine and gather alſo by the Univerſity, as well as by the country abroad. Wherin (as I am told) he beareth himſelfe ſo abſolute a Lord, as if he were their King, and not their Chancellour. Nay far more then if he were the generall and particular founder of all the Colledges and other houſes of the Univerſity; no man daring to contrary or interrupt the leaſt word or ſignification of his will, but with his extreame danger: which is a proceeding more fit for *Phalaris* the tyrant, or ſome Governour in Tartary, then for a Chancellour of a learned Univerſity.

To this anſwered the Lawyer, for my Lords wrath towards ſuch as will not ſtand to his judgment and opinion, I can my ſelfe be a ſufficient witneſſe, who having had often occaſion to deale for compoſition of matters betwixt his Lordſhip and others, have ſeene by experience, that alwayes *Lawyer.*

wayes they have ſped beſt, who ſtood leaſt in contention with him, whatſoever their cauſe were. For as a great and violent river, the more it is ſtopped or contraried, the more it riſeth and ſwelleth bigge, and in the end, dejecteth with more force the thing that made reſiſtance: ſo his Lordſhip being the great and mighty Potentate of this Realme, and accuſtomed now to have his will in all things, cannot beare to bee croſſed or reſiſted by any man, though it were in his owne neceſſary defence.

The perill of ſtanding with Leyceſter in any thing.

Hereof I have ſeene examples in the cauſes of Snowden foreſt in Wales, of Denbighe, of Killingworth, of Drayton, and others: where the parties that had intereſt, or thought themſelves wronged, had beene happy if they had yeelded at the firſt to his Lordſhips pleaſure, without further queſtion: for then had they eſcaped much trouble, charges, diſpleaſure, and vexation, when by reſiſtance they incurred, to their great ruine, (and * loſſe of life to ſome) and in the end were faine to ſubmit themſelves unto his will, with far worſe conditions then in the beginning were offered unto them: which thing was pittifull indeed to behold, but yet ſuch is my Lords diſpoſition.

* Poore men reſiſting Warwicks incloſure at North hall were hanged for his pleaſure by Leyceſters authority

Gentleman. A noble diſpoſition (quoth the Gentleman,) that I muſt give him my coat, if hee demand the ſame, and that quickly alſo, for feare leſt if I ſtagger or make doubt thereof, hee compell me to yeeld both coat and doublet, in penance of my ſtay. I have read of ſome ſuch Tyrants abroad in the world: marry their end was alwayes according to their life, as it is very like that it will be alſo in this man, for that there is ſmal hope of his amendment, and God paſſeth not over commonly ſuch matters unpuniſhed in this life, as well as in the life to come.

Great Tyranny.

But

But I pray you sir, seeing mention is now made of the former oppressions, so much talked of throughout the realm, that you will take the pains to explain the substance therof unto me; for albeit in generall, every man doth know the same, and in heart doe detest the tyranny thereof; yet we abroad in the Countrey, doe not understand it so well and distinctly as you that be Lawyers, who have seene and understood the whole processe of the same.

Lawyer. The case of Killingworth and Denbigh (said the Lawyer) are much alike in matter and manner of proceeding, though different in time, place and importance. For that the Lordship in Denbigh in Northwales, being given unto him by her Majesty a great while agoe, at the beginning of his rising, (which is a Lordship of singular great importance in that Country, having (as I have heard) well neere 200. worshipfull Gentlemen freeholders to the same:) the tenants of the place, considering the present state of things, and having learned the hungry disposition of their new Lord, made a common purse of a thousand pounds, to present him withall, at his first entrance: which though he received (as he refuseth nothing;) yet accounted he the sum of small effect for satisfaction of his appetite; and therefore applied himselfe, not onely to make the uttermost that he could by Leases, and such like wayes of commoditie; but also he would needs enforce the Freeholders to raise their old rent of the Lordship, from two hundreth and fifty pounds a yeere, or thereabouts (at which rate he had received the same in gift from her Majesty,) unto eight or nine hundreth pounds by the yeere, For that he had found out (forsooth) an old record, (as he said) whereby he could prove, that in ancient time

The Lordship of Denbigh and Leicesters oppression used therein.

long past, that Lordship had yeelded so much old rent: and therefore he would now enforce the present tenants, to make up so much againe upon their lands, which they thought was against all reason for them to doe: but my Lord perforce, would have it so, and in the end compelled them to yeeld to his will, to the impoverishing of all the whole Countrey about.

The Manor of Killingworth, and Leycesters oppression there.

The like proceeding he used with the tenants about Killingworth, where he received the said Lordship and Castle from the Prince, in gift of twenty foure pounds yeerely rent or thereabout, hath made it now better then five hundreth by yeere: by an old record also, found by great fortune in the hole of a wall, as is given out (for he hath singular good luck alwayes in finding out records for his purpose) by vertue whereof, he hath taken from the tenants round about, their Lands, Woods, Pastures, and Commons, to make himselfe Parkes, Chaces, and other commodities therwith, to the subversion of many a good family, which was maintained there, before this devourer set foot in that Countrey.

The cause of Snowden forest most pitifull.

But the matter of Snowden Forest, doth passe all the rest, both for cunning and cruelty: the tragedy whereof was this, he had learned by his intelligencers abroad (whereof he had great store in every part of the Realme) that there was a goodly ancient Forest in North wales, which hath almost infinite borderers about the same: for it lyeth in the middest of the Countrey, beginning at the hils of Snowden (whereof it hath his name) in Carnarvanshire, and reacheth every way towards divers other shires. When my Lord heard of this, he entered presently into the conceit of a singular great prey: going to her Majesty, signified that her highnesse was often times abused,

abuſed, by the incroaching of ſuch as dwelt upon her Foreſts, which was neceſſary to be reſtrained; and therefore beſeeched her Majeſty to beſtow upon him the incrochments only, which he ſhould be able to finde out upon the Foreſt of Snowden, which was granted.

And thereupon he choſe out Commiſſioners fit for the purpoſe, and ſent them into Wales, with the like Commiſſion as a certaine Emperour was wont to give his Majeſtrates, when they departed from him to governe, as *Suetonius* writeth, *Scith quid velim & quibus opus habeo.* You know what I would have, and what I have need of. Which recommendation, theſe Commiſſioners taking to heart, omitted no diligence in execution of the ſame; and ſo going into Wales, by ſuch meanes as they uſed, of ſetting one man to accuſe another; brought quickly all the Countrey round about in three or foure ſhires, within the compaſſe of Foreſt ground; and ſo entred upon the ſame, for my Lord of *Leiceſters*. Whereupon, when the people were amazed, and expected what order my Lord himſelfe would take therein: his Lord was ſo far off from refuſing any part of that, which his Commiſſioners had preſented and offered him: as he would yet further ſtretch the Foreſt beyond the Sea, into the Iſle of Angleſey, and make that alſo within his compaſſe and bounder.

An old tyranni-call Commiſſion

A rediculous de-monſtration of exceſſive avaries

Which when the Commonalty ſaw, and that they profited nothing by their complaining and crying out of this tyranny: they appointed to ſend ſome certaine number of themſelves, to London, to make ſupplication to the Prince: and ſo they did; chooſing out for that purpoſe a dozen Gentlemen, and many more of the Commons of the Countrey of Lhin, to deale for the whole. Who coming to London, and exhibiting

a moſt humble ſupplication to her Majeſty for redreſſe of their oppreſſion: received an anſwer, by the procurement of my Lord of *Leyceſter*, that they ſhould have juſtice, if the commonalty would returne home to their houſes, and the Gentlemen remaine there, to ſolicite the cauſe. Which as ſoone as they had yeelded unto, the Gentlemen were all taken and caſt into priſon, and there kept for a great ſpace, and afterward were ſent downe to Ludlow, (as the place moſt eminent of all theſe Countries) there to weare papers of perjury, and receive other puniſhments of infamy. for their complaining: which puniſhments notwithſtanding, afterward upon great ſuit of the parties and their friends, were turned into great fines of money, which they were conſtrained to pay, and yet beſides to agree alſo with my Lord of *Leyceſter* for their owne lands, acknowledging the ſame to be his, and ſo to buy it of him againe.

A ſingular oppreſſion.

Whereby not onely theſe private Gentlemen, but all the whole Countrey thereabout, was and is (in a manner) utterly undone. And the participation of this injury, reacheth ſo far and wide, and is ſo generall in theſe parts, as you ſhall ſcarce finde a man that cometh from that coaſt, who feeleth not the ſmart thereof; being either impoveriſhed, beggered or ruinated thereby.

Leyceſter extreamly hated in Wales.

Whereby I aſſure you that the hatred of all that Countrey, is ſo univerſall and vehement againſt my Lord; as I think never thing created by God was ſo odious to that Nation, as the very name of my Lord of *Leiceſter* is. Which his Lordſhip well knowing, I doubt not, but that he will take heed how he go thither to dwell, or ſend thither his poſterity.

Gentleman. For his poſterity (quoth the Gentleman) I ſup-

poſe

pose he hath little cause to be solicitour; for that God himselfe taketh care commonly, that goods and honours so gotten and maintained, as his be, shall never trouble the third heire. Marry for himselfe, I confesse (the matter standing as you say) that he hath reason to forbeare that Country, and to leave off his building begun at Denbigh, as I heare say he hath done: for that the universall hatred of a people, is a perilous matter; and if I were in his Lordships case, I should often thinke of the end of *Nero*; who after all his glory, upon fury of the people was adjudged to have his head thrust into a Pilory, and so to be beaten to death with rods and thongs.

The end of tyrants.

Nero.

Or rather I should feare the successe of *Vitellius* the third Emperor after *Nero*, who for his wickednesse and oppression of the people, was taken by them at length, when fortune began to faile him, and led out of his Palace naked, with hooks of Iron fastned in his flesh, and so drawn through the City with infamy, where, loden in the streets with filth and ordure cast upon him, and a prick put under his chin, to the end he should not looke downe or hide his face, was brought to the banke of Tyber, and there, after many hundred wounds received, was cast into the river. So implacable a thing is the furour of a multitude, when it is once stirred, and hath place of revenge. And so heavy is the hand of God upon tyrants in this world, when it pleaseth his divine Majesty to take revenge of the same.

Vitellius.

I have read in *Leander*, in his description of Italy, how that in Spoleto (if I be not deceived) the chiefe City of the Country of Umbria, there was a strange tyrant; who in the time of his prosperity, contemned all men, and forbare to injury no man that came within his claws; esteeming himself sure

A most terrible revenge taken upon a tyrant.

enough for ever being called to render account in this life, and for the next he cared little. But God upon the sudden turned upside-downe the wheele of his felicity, and cast him into the peoples hands; who tooke him, and bound his naked body upon a planke, in the Market place, with a fire and iron tongues by him: and then made proclamation, that seeing this man was not otherwise able to make satisfaction, for the publique injuries that he had done; every private person annoyed by him, should come in order, and with the hot-burning tongues there ready, should take of his fleih so much, as was correspondent to the injury received, as indeed they did untill the miserable man gave up the ghost, and after too: as this author writeth.

Leycesters oppression of particular men.

But to the purpose: seeing my Lord careth little for such examples, and is become so hardy now, as he maketh no account to injury and oppresse whole Countries and Commonalties together; it shall be bootlesse to speake of his proceedings towards particular men, who have not so great strength to resist, as a multitude hath. And yet I can assure you, that there are so many and so pitifull things published daily of his tyranny in this kinde; as doe move great compassion towards the party that doe suffer, and horrour against him who shameth not daily to offer such injury.

Master Robinson

As for example: whose heart would not bleed to heare the case before mentioned of Master *Robinson* of Staffordshire; a proper yong Gentleman, and well given both in religion and other vertues; whose Father died at Newhaven, in her Majesties service, under this mans brother the Earle of Warwick; and recommended at his death this his eldest Son, to the special protection of *Leicester*

ceſter and his Brother, whoſe ſervant alſo this *Robinſon* hath bin, from his youth upward, and ſpent the moſt of his living in his ſervice. Yet notwithſtanding all this, when *Robinſons* Lands were intangled with a certaine Londoner, upon intereſt for his former maintenance in their ſervice, whoſe title my Lord of *Leiceſter* (though craftily, yet not covertly) under *Ferris* his cloak, had gotten to himſelfe: he ceaſed not to purſue the poore Gentleman even to impriſonment, arraignment, and ſentence of death, for greedineſſe of the ſaid living; together with the vexation of his brother in law Maſter *Harcourt*, and all other his friends, upon pretence, forſooth, that there was a man ſlaine by *Robinſons* party, in defence of his owne poſſeſſion againſt *Leiceſters* intruders, that would by violence breake into the ſame. Maſter Harcourt.

What ſhall I ſpeake of others, whereof there would be no end? as of his dealing with Maſter *Richard Lee*, for his Manor of Hooknorton (if I faile not in the name:) with Maſter *Ludowick Grivell*, by ſeeking to bereave him of all his living at once, if the drift had taken place? with *George Witney*, in the behalfe of Sir *Henry Leigh*, for inforcing him to forgoe the Controlerſhip at Woodſtock, which he holdeth by Patent from King *Henry* the ſeventh? with my Lord *Barkley*, whom he enforced to yeeld up his lands to his brother *Warwick*, which his anceſtors had held quietly for almoſt two hundreth yeeres together? M. Richerd Lee. Ludowick Grivel George Witney. Lord Barkley.

What ſhall I ſay of his intollerable tyranny upon the laſt Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for Doctor *Iulio* his ſake, and that in ſo foule a matter? Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Vpon Sir *Iohn Throgmarton*, whom he brought pitifully to his grave before his time, by continuall vexations, for a peece of faithfull ſervice done by him to his Countrey, and to all the line Sir Iohn Throgmarton.

of King *Henry*, against this mans Father, in King *Edward* and Queen *Maries* dayes? Upon divers
Lane. of the *Lanes*, for one mans sake of that name before mentioned, that offered to take Killingworth-
Gifford. Castle? upon some of the *Giffords*, and other for *Throgmartons* sake? (for that is also his Lords disposition, for one mans cause whom he brooketh not, to plague a whole generation, that any way
Sir Drew Drewry pertaineth, or is allied to the same:) his endlesse persecuting of Sir *Drew Drewry*, and many other Courtiers, both men and women? All these (I say) and many others, who daily suffer injuries, rapines and oppressions at his hands, throughout the Realme, what should it availe to name them in this place? seeing neither his Lord careth any thing for the same, neither the parties agrieved are like to attain any least release of affliction thereby, but rather double oppression for their complaining.

The present state of my Lord of Leycester. Wherefore to return again wheras we began; you see by this little, who, and how great, & what manner of man, my Lord of *Leycester* is this day, in the state of England. You see, and may gather, in some part, by that which hath bin spoken, his wealth, his strength, his cunning, his disposition.
Leicesters wealth His wealth is excessive in all kinde of riches for a private man, and must needs be much more, then any body lightly can imagine, for the infinite wayes he hath had of gaine, so many yeeres toge-
Leycest. strength ther. His strength and power is absolute and irresistable, as hath beene shewed both in Chamber,
Leycest. cunning Court, Councell and Country. His cunning in plotting and fortifying the same, both by force and fraud, by Mines and countermines, by trenches, bulwarkes, flankers and rampiers: by friends, enemies, allies, servants, creatures, and dependents, or any other that may serve his turne; is very rare

and

and ſingular. His diſpoſition to cruelty, murder, treaſon and tyranny: and by all theſe to ſupream Soveraignty over other, is moſt evident and cleare. And then judge you whether her Majeſty that now raigneth (whoſe life and proſperity, the Lord in mercy long preſerve,) have not juſt cauſe to feare, in reſpect of theſe things onely; if there were no other particulars to prove his aſpiring intent beſides?

Leyceſters diſpoſition.

No doubt (quoth the Lawyer) but theſe are great matters, in the queſtion of ſuch a cauſe as is a Crown. And we have ſeen by example, that the leaſt of theſe four, which you have here named, or rather ſome little branch contained in any of them, hath bin ſufficient to found juſt ſuſpition, diſtruſt or jealouſie, in the heads of moſt wiſe Princes, towards the proceedings of more aſſured ſubjects, then my Lord of *Leyceſter*, in reaſon may be preſumed to be. For that the ſafety of a ſtate and Prince, ſtandeth not onely in the readineſſe and habilityof reſiſting open attempts, when they ſhall fall out; but alſo (and that much more as Statiſts write) in a certaine provident watchfulneſſe, of preventing all poſſibilities and likelihoods of danger of ſuppreſſion, for that no Prince commonly, will put himſelfe to the curteſie of another man) be he never ſo obliged) whether he ſhall retaine his Crowne or no: ſeeing the cauſe of a Kingdome, acknowledgeth neither kindred, duty, faith, friendſhip, nor ſociety.

Lawyer.

Cauſes of juſt feare for her Maieſty.

I know not whether I doe expound or declare my ſelf well or no; but my meaning is, that whereas every Prince hath two points of aſſurance from his ſubject; the one, in that he is faithfull, and lacketh will to annoy his Soveraigne; the other, for

A point of necessary policy for a Prince.

for that he is weake and wanteth ability to do the same: the first is alwayes of more importance then the second, and consequently more to be eyed and observed in policy: for that our will may be changed at our pleasure, but not our ability.

Considering then upon that which hath beene said and specified before, how that my Lord of *Leicester* hath possessed himself of all the strength, powers and sinewes of the Realme, hath drawne all to his own direction, and hath made his party so strong, as it seemeth not resistable: you have great reason to say, that her Majesty may justly conceive some doubt, for that if his will were according to his power, most assured it is, that her Majesty were not in safety.

Scholar. Say not so, good sir, (quoth I) for in such a case truly, I would repose little upon his will, which is so many wayes apparant, to be most insatiable of ambition. Rather would I thinke that as yet his ability serveth not, either for time, place, force, or some other circumstance: then that any part of good will should want in him; seeing that not onely his desire of soveraignty, but also his intent and attempt to aspire to the same, is sufficiently declared (in my conceit) by the very particulars of his power and plots already set downe. Which if you please to have the patience, to heare a Scholars argument, I will prove by a principle of our Philosophy.

A philosophicall argument to prove Leycesters intent of soveraignty.

For if it be true which *Aristotle* saith, there is no agent so simple in the world, which worketh not for some finall end, (as the bird buildeth not her nest but to dwell and hatch her yong ones therein:) and not onely this, but also that the same agent, doth alwayes frame his worke according to the proportion of his intended end: (as when the Fox or Badger maketh a wide earth

or

or den, it is a signe that he meaneth to draw thither great store of prey:) then must we also in reason thinke, that so wise and politick an agent, as is my Lord of *Leicester* for himselfe, wanteth not his end in these plottings and preparations of his; I meane an end proportionable in greatnesse to his preparations. Which end can be no lesse nor meaner then supreame Soveraignty, seeing his provision and furniture doe tend that way, and are in every point fully correspondent to the same.

What meaneth his so diligent besieging of the Princes person? his taking up the wayes and passages about her? his insolency in Court? his singularity in the Councell? his violent preparation of strength abroad? his enriching of his complices? the banding of his faction, with the abundance of friends every where? what doe these things signifie (I say) and so many other, as you have well noted and mentioned before; but onely his intent and purpose of Supremacy? What did the same things portend in times past in his Father, but even that which now they portend in the Sonne? Or how should we thinke, that the Son hath another meaning in the very same actions, then had his Father before him, whose steps he followeth. The preparations of Leycester declare his intended end.

I remember I have heard often times of divers ancient and grave men in Cambridge, how that in King *Edwards* dayes the Duke of Northumberland this mans Father, was generally suspected of all men, to mean indeed as afterward he shewed, especially when he had once joyned with the house of *Suffolk*, and made himselfe a principall of that faction by marriage. But yet for that he was potent, and protested every where, and by all occasions his great love, duty, and speciall care, above all others, How the Duke of Northumberland dissembled his end.

others, that he bare towards his Prince & Country; no man durſt accuſe him openly, untill it was too late to withſtand his power, (as commonly it falleth out in ſuch affaires) and the like is evident in my Lord of *Leyceſters* actions now (albeit to her Majeſty, I doubt not, but that he will pretend and proteſt, as his Father did to her Brother) eſpecially now after his open aſſociation with the faction of *Huntington*; which no leſſe impugneth under this mans protection, the whole line of *Henry* the ſeventh for right of the Crowne, then the houſe of *Suffolke* did under his Father the particular progeny of King *Henry* the eight.

Gentleman.

Nay rather much more (quoth the Gentleman) for that I doe not read in King *Edwards* raigne, (when the matter was in plotting notwithſtanding) that the houſe of *Suffolke* durſt ever make open claime to the next ſucceſſion. But now the houſe of *Haſtings* is become ſo confident, upon the ſtrength & favor of their fautors, as they dare both plot, practice & pretend, all at once, and fear not to ſet out their title, in every place where they come.

The boldneſſe of the titlers of Clarence.

Lawyer.

And do they not fear the ſtatute (ſaid the Lawyer) ſo rigorous in this point, as it maketh the matter treaſon to determine of titles?

Gentleman.

No: they need not (quoth the Gentleman) ſeeing their party is ſo ſtrong and terrible, as no man dare accuſe them: ſeeing alſo they well know, that the procurement of that Statute, was onely to endanger or ſtop the mouthes of the true Succeſſors, whiles themſelves in the meaneſpace went about under hand, to eſtabliſh their owne ambuſhment.

The abuſe of the Statute for ſilence in the true ſucceſſion.

Lawyer.

Well: (quoth the Lawyer) for the pretence of my Lord of *Huntington* to the Crowne, I will not ſtand with you, for that it is a matter ſufficiently known and ſeen throughout the Realme. As alſo

that

that my Lord of *Leycester* is at this day a principall favourer and patron of that cause, albeit some yeers past, he were an earnest adversary and enemy to the same. But yet I have heard some friends of his, in reasoning of these matters, deny stoutly a point or two, which you have touched here, and doe seeme to beleeve the same.

And that is, first, that howsoever my Lord of *Leicester* do meane to helpe his friend, when time shall serve, yet pretendeth he nothing to the Crowne himselfe. The second is, that whatsoever may be meant for the title, or compassing the Crowne after her Majesties death, yet nothing is intended during her raigne. And of both these points they alledge reasons. Two excuses alleadged by Leycesters friends.

As for the first, that my Lord of *Leycester* is very well knowne to have no title to the Crowne himselfe, either by discent in blood, alliance or otherwayes. For the second, that his Lord. hath no cause to be a Malecontent in the present government, nor hope for more preferment, if my Lord of *Huntington* were King to morrow next, then he receiveth now at her Majesties hands; having all the Realme (as hath bin shewed) at his owne disposition.

Gentlemen.

For the first (quoth the Gentleman) whether he meane the Crowne for himself, or for his friend, it importeth not much; seeing both wayes it is evident, that he meaneth to have all at his owne disposition. And albeit now for the avoyding of envy, he give it out, as a crafty Fox, that he meaneth not but to run with other men, and to hunt with *Huntington* and other hounds in the same chase; yet is it not unlike, but that he will play the Beare, when he cometh to dividing of the pray, and will snatch the best part to himselfe. Yea, and these self same persons

Whether Leycester meane the Crown sincerely for Huntington or for himselfe.

sons of his traine and faction, whom you call his friend, though in publique, to excuse his doings, and to cover the whole plot, they will and must deny the matters to be so meant: yet otherwise they both thinke, hope and know the contrary, and will not stick in secret to speak it, and among themselves, it is their talke of consolation.

The words of his speciall Councellour the Lord *North*, are known, which he uttered to his trusty *Pooly*, upon the receit of a letter from Court, of her Majesties displeasure towards him, for his being a witnesse at *Leycesters* second marriage with Dame *Lettice* (although I know he was not ignorant of the first) at Wanstead: of which displeasure, this Lord making far lesse accompt then, in reason he should, of the just offence of his soveraigne, said: that for his owne part he was resolved to sinke or swimme with my Lord of *Leycester*, who (said he) if once the Cards may come to shuffling (I will use but his very own words) I make no doubt but he alone shall beare away the Bucklers;

To the ſame point tended the words of Miſtreſſe *Anne Weſt*, Dame *Lettice* ſiſter, unto the Lady *Anne Aſkew*, in the great Chamber, upon a day when her brother *Robert Knowles* had danced diſgratiouſly and ſcornfully before the Queen in preſence of the French. Which thing for that her Majeſty tooke to proceed of will in him, as for diſlike of the ſtrangers in preſence, and for the quarrell of his ſiſter *Eſſex*; it pleaſed her Majeſty to check him for the ſame, with addition of a reproachfull word or two (full well deſerved) as though done for deſpite of the forced abſeace from that place of honour, of the good old Gentlewoman (I mitigate the words) his ſiſter. Which words, the other young twig receiving in deepe dudgen, brake forth in great choler to her forenamed companion, and ſaid, That ſhe nothing doubted, but that one day ſhee ſhould ſee her ſiſter, upon whom the Queene railed now ſo much (for ſo it pleaſed her to tearme her Majeſties ſharpe ſpeech) to ſit in her place and throne, being much worthier of the ſame, for her qualities and rare vertues, then was the other. Which undutifull ſpeech, albeit it were over-heard and condemned of divers that ſate about them, yet none durſt ever report the ſame to her Majeſty, as I have heard ſundry Courtiers affirme, in reſpect of the revenge which the reporters ſhould abide at my Lord of Leyceſters hands, whenſoever the matter ſhould come to light.

The words of Miſtris Anne Weſt ſiſter unto this holy Counteſſe.

And this is now concerning the opinion and ſecret ſpeeches of my Lords owne friends, who cannot but utter their conceit and judgement in time and place convenient, whatſoever they are willed to give out publikely to the contrary, for deceiving of ſuch as will beleeve faire painted words,

words, against evident and manifest demonstration of reason.

Three arguments of Leycesters meaning for himselfe before Huntington.

I say reason, for that if none of these signes and tokens were, none of these preparations nor any of these speeches and detections, by his friends that know his heart; yet in force of plain reason, I could alleadge unto you three arguments onely, which to any man of intelligence, would easily perswade and give satisfaction, that my Lord of *Leycester* meaneth best and first for himselfe in this suit. Which three arguments, for that you seeme to be attent; I will not stick to run over in all brevity.

The first argument, the Nature of ambition.

And the first, is the very nature and quality of ambition it self, which is such, (as you know) that it never stayeth, but passeth from degree to degree and the more it obtaineth, the more it covereth, and the more esteemeth it selfe, both worthy and able to obtaine. And in our matter that now we handle; even as in wooing, he that sueth to a Lady for another, and obtaineth her good will, entereth easily into conceit of his owne worthinesse thereby, and so commonly into hope of speeding himselfe, while he speaketh for his friend: so much more in Kingdomes: he that seeth himself of power to put the Crowne of another mans head, will quickly step to the next degree, which is, to set it of his owne, seeing that always the charity of such good men, is wont to be so orderly, as (according to the precept) it beginneth with it selfe first.

Adde to this, that ambition is jealous, suspitious and fearfull of it selfe, especially when it is joyned with a conscience loden with the guilt of many crimes, whereof he would be loth to be called to account, or be subject to any man that might by authority take review of his life & actions, when it should

ſhould pleaſe him. In which kinde, ſeeing my Lord of *Leyceſter* hath ſo much to encreaſe his feare, as before hath beene ſhewed by his wicked dealings: it is not like, that ever hee will put himſelfe to another mans courteſie, for paſſing his audict in particular reckonings, which he can no way anſwer or ſatisfie: but rather will ſtand upon the groſſe Sum, and generall *Quietus eſt*, by making himſelfe chiefe Auditour, and Maſter of all accompts for his owne part in this life, howſoever he do in the next: whereof ſuch humours have little regard. And this is for the nature of ambition in it ſelfe.

The ſecond argument may bee taken from my Lords particular diſpoſition: which is ſuch, as may give much light alſo to the matter in queſtion: being a diſpoſition ſo well liking and inclined to a Kingdome, as it hath beene tampering about the ſame, from the firſt day that hee came in favour. Firſt, by ſeeking openly to marry with the Queenes Majeſtie her ſelfe, and ſo to draw the Crowne upon his owne head, and to his poſterity. Secondly, when that attempt tooke not place, then hee gave it out, as hath beene ſhewed before, how that he was privily contracted to her Majeſty, (wherein as I told you his dealing before for ſatisfaction of a ſtranger, ſo let him with ſhame and diſhonour remember now alſo, the ſpectacle hee ſecretly made for the perſwading of a ſubject, and Counſellour of great honour in the ſame cauſe) to the end that if her Highneſſe ſhould by any way have miſcarried, then he might have entituled any one of his owne brood, (whereof he hath ſtore in many places as is knowne) to the lawfull ſucceſſion of the Crowne, under colour of that privy and ſecret marriage, pretending the ſame to bee by her Majeſtie: wherein hee will want no witneſſes to depoſe what hee will.

The ſecond argument. *Leyceſters* particular diſpoſition.

Leyceſters diſpoſition to tamper for a Kingdome.

I meane the noble old Earle of *Pembroke*.

The undutifull deviſe of Naturall iſſue, in the Statute of ſucceſſion.

Thirdly, when he ſaw alſo that this deviſe was ſubject to danger, for that his privy contract might be denied more eaſily, then he able juſtly to prove the ſame, after her Majeſties deceaſe: he had a new fetch to ſtrengthen the matter, and that was to cauſe theſe words of (*Naturall iſſue*) to be put into the Statute of ſucceſſion for the Crowne, againſt all order and cuſtome of our Realme, and againſt the knowne common ſtile of Law, accuſtomed to bee uſed in Statutes of ſuch matter: whereby hee might be able after the death of her Majeſty, to make ligitimate to the Crowne any one baſtard of his owne, by any of ſo many hacknies as he keepeth, affirming it to bee the *Naturall iſſue* of her Majeſty by himſelfe. For no other reaſon can bee imagined why the ancient uſuall words of *Lawfull iſſue* ſhould ſo cunningly bee changed into *Naturall iſſue*; thereby not onely to indanger our whole Realme with new quarrels of ſucceſſion, but alſo to touch (as farre as in him lyeth) the Royall honour of his Soveraigne, who hath beene to him but too bountifull a Princeſſe.

Fourthly, when after a time theſe fetches and devices began to be diſcovered, he changed ſtraight his courſe, and turned to the Papiſts and Scottiſh faction, pretending the marriage of the Queene in priſon. But yet after this againe, finding therein not ſuch ſucceſſe as contented him throughly, and having in the meane ſpace a new occaſion offered of baite; he betooke himſelfe fiftly to the party of *Huntington*: having therein (no doubt) as good meaning to himſelfe, as his Father had by joyning with *Suffolke*. Marry yet of late, he hath caſt anew about, once againe, for himſelfe in ſecret, by treating the marriage of young *Arbella* with his Son, intitled the Lord *Denbigh*.

The marriage of *Arbella*.

So

So that by this we see the disposition of this man bent wholly to a sceptre. And albeit in right title, and discent of bloud (as you say) hee can justly claime neither Kingdome nor Cottage (considering either the baseneſſe or disloyalty of his Ancestours:) if in respect of his present state and power, and of his naturall pride, ambition, and crafty conveyance, received from his Father, hee hath learned how to put himselfe first in possession of chiefe rule, under other pretences, and after to devise upon the title at his leasure.

But now to come to the third argument: I say more, and above all this, that the nature and state of the matter it-selfe, permitteth not, that my Lord of *Leycester* should meane sincerely, the Crowne for *Huntington*; especially seeing there hath passed betweene them so many yeares of dislike and ennity: which albeit, for the time and present commodity, bee covered and pressed downe: yet by reason and experience we know, that afterward when they shall deale together againe in matters of importance, and when jealousie shall bee joyned to other circumstances of their actions, it is impossible that the former mislike should not breake out in farre higher degree, then ever before.

The third argument.

The nature of the cause it-selfe.

As wee saw in the examples of the reconciliation, made betwixt this mans Father, and *Edward*, Duke of *Somerset*, bearing rule under King *Edward* the sixt: and betweene *Richard* of *Yorke*, and *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, bearing rule in the time of King *Henry* the sixt. Both which Dukes of *Somerset*, after reconciliation with their old, crafty, and ambitious enemies, were brought by the same to their destruction soone after. Whereof I doubt not, but my Lord of *Leycester* will take good heed, in joy-

The nature of old reconciled ennity.

ning by reconciliation with *Huntington*, after so long a breach: and will not be so improvident, as to make him his soveraigne, who now is but his dependent. He remembreth too well the successe of the Lord *Stanley*, who helped King *Henry* the seaventh to the Crowne: of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who did the same for *Richard* the third: of the Earle of *warwicke*, who set up King *Edward* the fourth: and of the three *Percies*, who advanced to the Scepter King *Henry* the fourth. All which Noblemen upon occasions that after fell out, were rewarded with death by the selfe same Princes, whom they had preferred.

The reason of *Machavell.*

And that not without reason, as Seignior *Machavell*, my Lords Counsellour affirmeth. For that such Princes, afterward can never give sufficient satisfaction to such friends, for so great a benefit received. And consequently, least upon discontentment, they may chance to doe as much for others against them, as they have done for them against others: the surest way is, to recompence them with such a reward, as they shall never after be able to complaine of.

The meaning of the Duke of *Northumberland* with *Suffolke.*

Wherefore I can never thinke that my Lord of *Leycester* will put himselfe in danger of the like successe at *Huntingtons* hands: but rather will follow the plot of his owne Father, with the Duke of *Suffolke*, whom no doubt, but hee meant onely to use for a pretext and helpe, whereby to place himselfe in supreame dignity, and afterward whatsoever had befallen of the state, the others head could never have come to other end, then it enjoyed. For if Queene *Mary* had not cut it off, King *John* of *Northumberland* would have done the same in time, and so all men doe well know, that were privy to any of his cunning dealings.

And

And what *Huntingtons* ſecret opinion of *Leyceſter* is, (notwithſtanding this outward ſhew of dependance) it was my chance to learne, from the mouth of a ſpeciall man of that haſty King, who was his Ledger or Agent in *London*; and at a time falling in talke of his Maſters title, declared that he had heard him divers times in ſecret, complaine to his Lady, (*Leyceſters* ſiſter) as greatly fearing that in the end, he would offer him wrong, and pretend ſome title for himſelfe. *South-houſe.*

Well (quoth the Lawyer) it ſeemeth by this laſt point, that theſe two Lords are cunning practitioners in the art of diſſimulation: but for the former whereof you ſpeake, in truth, I have heard men of good diſcourſe affirme, that the Duke of *Northumberland* had ſtrange deviſes in his head, for deceiving of *Suffolke*, (who was nothing ſo fine as himſelfe,) and for bringing the Crowne to his owne Family. And among other deviſes it is thought, that hee had moſt certaine intention to marry the Lady *Mary* himſelfe, after once hee had brought her into his owne hands) and to have beſtowed her Majeſtie that now is, upon ſome one of his children (if it ſhould have beene thought beſt to give her life, (and ſo conſequently to have ſhaken off *Suffolke* and his pedegree, with condigne puniſhment, for his bold behaviour in that behalfe. *Lawyer.* The meaning of the D. of *Northumberland* towards the D. of *Suffolke.*

Verily (quoth I) this had beene an excellent Stratageme, if it had taken place. But I pray you (Sir) how could himſelfe have taken the Lady *Mary* to wife, ſeeing hee was at that time married to another? *Scholar.*

O (quoth the Gentleman) you queſtion like a Schollar. As though my Lord of *Leyceſter* had not a wife alive, when hee firſt began to pretend mar- *Gentleman.*

riage to the Queenes Majeſty. Do not you remember the ſtory of King *Richard* the third, who at ſuch time as he thought beſt for the eſtabliſhing of his title; to marry his owne Neece, that afterward was married to King *Henry* the ſeventh, how he cauſed ſecretly to be given abroad that his owne wife was dead, whom all the World knew to bee then alive and in good health, but yet ſoone afterward ſhe was ſeene dead indeed. Theſe great perſonages in matters of ſuch weight, as is a Kingdome, have priviledges to diſpoſe of Womens bodies, marriages, lives and deaths, as ſhall be thought for the time moſt convenient.

The practiſe of King Richard for diſpatching his Wife.

And what doe you thinke (I pray you) of this new *Triumvirat* ſo lately concluded about *Arbella*? (for ſo I muſt call the ſame, though one of the three perſons bee no *Vir*, but *Virago*;) I meane of the marriage betweene young *Denbigh* and the little Daughter of *Lenox*, whereby the Father-in-law, the Grand-mother, and the Uncle of the new deſigned Queene, have conceived to themſelves a ſingular triumphant raigne. But what doe you think may enſue hereof? is there nothing of the old plot of Duke *John* of *Northumberland* in this?

A new Triumvirat between Leycester, Talbot, and the Countesse of Shrewesbury.

Lawyer. Marry Sir, (quoth the Lawyer) if this be ſo, I dare aſſure you there is ſequell enough pretended hereby. And firſt, no doubt but there goeth a deep drift, by the wife and ſonne, againſt old *Abraham* (the Husband and Father) with the well-lined large pouch. And ſecondly, a farre deeper, by truſty *Robert* againſt his beſt Miſtreſſe: but deepeſt of all by the whole Crew, againſt the deſignements of the haſty Earle; who thirſteth a Kingdome with great intemperance, and ſeemeth (if there were plaine dealing) to hope by theſe good people to quench ſhortly his drought.

Huntington.

But

But either part, in truth, seeketh to deceive other: and therefore it is hard to say where the game in fine will rest.

Well, howsoever that be (quoth the Gentleman) I am of opinion, that my Lord of *Leycester* will use both this practise and many more, for bringing the Scepter finally to his owne head: and that he will not onely imploy *Huntington* to defeate *Scotland*, and *Arbella* to defeate *Huntington*: but also would use the marriage of the Queene imprisoned, to defeat them both, if she were in his hand: and any one of all three to dispossesse her Majesty that now is: as also the authority of all foure to bring it to himselfe: with many other fetches, slings and frisoes besides, which simple men as yet doe not conceive. *Gentleman.* The sleights of *Leycester* for bringing all to himselfe.

And howsoever these two conjoyned Earles, doe seeme for the time to draw together, and to play booty: yet am I of opinion, that the one will beguile the other at the upshot. And *Hastings*, for ought I see, when hee commeth to the scambling, is like to have no better luck by the Beare, then his Ancestour had once by the Boare. Who using his helpe first in murdering the Sonne and Heire of King *Henry* the sixt, and after in destroying the faithfull Friends and Kinsmen of King *Edward* the fift, for his easier way to usurpation: made an end of him also in the Tower, at the the very same day and houre, that the other were by his counsell destroyed in *Pontfret Castle*. So that where the Goale and price of the game is a Kingdome, there is neither faith, neither good fellowship, nor faire play among the *Gamesters*. And this shall be enough for the first point: (*viz.*) what good my Lord of *Leycester* meaneth to himselfe in respect of *Huntington*. Scambling between *Leycester* & *Huntington* at the upshot. *Richard* of *Glocester*, *An.* 1. *Edw.* 5.

Touching the second, whether the attempt be

2. That the conspirators meane in her Majesties dayes.

purposed in her Majesties dayes or no, the matter is much lesse doubtfull, to him that knoweth or can imagine what a torment the delay of a Kingdome is, to such a one as suffereth hunger thereof, and feareth that every houre may breed some alteration, to the prejudice of his conceived hope. Wee see oftentimes that the childe is impatient in this matter, to expect the naturall end of his parents life. Whom, notwithstanding, by nature he is enforced to love: and who also by nature, is like long to leave this World before him: and after whose decease, hee is assured to obtaine his desire: but most certaine of dangerous event, if he attempt to get it, while yet his parent liveth. Which foure considerations are (no doubt) of great force to containe a child in duty, and bridle his desire: albeit sometimes not sufficient to withstand the greedy appetite of raigning.

Foure considerations.

But what shall wee thinke, where none of these foure considerations do restraine? where the present Possessor is no parent? where she is like by nature, to out-live the expector? whose death must needs bring infinite difficulties to the enterprise? and in whose life-time the matter is most easie to be atchieved, under colour and authority of the present Possessor? shall we thinke that in such a case the ambitious man will over-rule his owne passion, and leese his commodity.

A thing worthy to be noted in ambitious men.

As for that which is allcadged before, for my Lord in the reason of his Defenders: that his present state is so prosperous, as hee cannot expect better in the next change whatsoever should be: is of small moment, in the conceipt of an ambitious head, whose eye and heart is alwayes upon that, which he hopeth for, and enjoyeth not: and not upon that which already hee possesseth, be it never so good.

Especially

Especially in matters of honour and authority, it is an infallible rule, that one degree desired and not obtained, afflicteth more then five degrees already possessed, can give consolation: the story of Duke *Haman* confirmeth this evidently, who being the greatest subject in the World under King *Assuerus*, after he had reckoned up all his pompe, riches, glory, and felicity to his friends, yet hee said, that all this was nothing unto him, untill he could obtaine the revenge which hee desired, upon *Mardochæus* his enemy: and hereby it commeth ordinarily to passe, that among highest in authority are found the greatest store of Male-contents, that most doe endanger their Prince and Countrey. Hister. 5.

When the *Percies* took part with *Henry* of *Bolingbrooke*, against King *Richard* the second their lawfull Soveraigne: it was not for lack of preferment, for they were exceedingly advanced by the said King, and possessed the three Earledomes of *Northumberland*, *worcester*, and *Stafford* together, besides many other offices and dignities of honour. The *Percies*.

In like sort, when the two *Neviles* tooke upon them to joyne with *Richard* of *Yorke*, to put downe their most benigne Prince, King *Henry* the sixt: and after again in the other side, to put downe King *Edward* the fourth, it was not upon want of advancement: they being Earles both of *Salisbury* and *warwick*, and Lords of many notable places besides. But it was upon a vaine imagination of future fortune, whereby such men are commonly led: and yet had not they any smell in their nostrils of getting the Kingdome for themselves, as this man hath to prick him forward. The two *Neviles*.

If you say that these men hated their Soveraigne, and that thereby they were led to procure his destruction: the same I may answer of my Lord living, though *Leycesters* hatred to her Majesty.

though of all men he hath leaſt cauſe ſo to do. But yet ſuch is the nature of wicked ingratitude, that where it oweth moſt, and diſdaineth to be bound, there upon every little diſcontentment, it turneth double obligation into triple hatred.

The evill nature of ingratitude.

This he ſhewed evidently in the time of his little diſgrace, wherein hee not onely did diminiſh, vilipend, and debaſe among his friends, the ineſtimable benefits hee hath received from her Majeſtie, but alſo uſed to exprobrate his owne good ſervices and merits, and to touch her highneſſe with ingrate conſideration and recompence of the ſame; which behaviour, together with his haſty preparation to rebellion, and aſſault of her Majeſties Royall perſon and dignity, upon ſo ſmall a cauſe given, did well ſhew what minde inwardly he beareth to his Soveraigne, and what her Majeſty may expect, if by offending him, ſhee ſhould once fall within the compaſſe of his furious pawes: ſeeing ſuch a ſmoke of diſdaine could not proceed, but from a fierie fornace of hatred within.

Leycesters ſpeeches of her Majeſty in the time of his diſgrace.

And ſurely it is a wonderfull matter to conſider what a little check, or rather the bare imagination of a ſmall overthwart, may worke in a proud and diſdainfull ſtomacke. The remembrance of his marriage miſſed, that hee ſo much pretended and deſired with her Majeſtie, doth ſticke deeply in his breaſt, and ſtirreth him daily to revenge. As alſo doth the diſdaine of certaine checks and diſgraces received at ſometimes, eſpecially that of his laſt marriage: which irketh him ſo much the more, by how much greater feare and danger it brought him into at that time, and did put his Widow in ſuch open phrenſie, as ſhee raged many moneths after againſt her Majeſtie, and is not cold yet, but remaineth as it were a ſworne enemy for that injury,

The cauſes of hatred in *Leyceſter* towards her Majeſty.

injury, and ſtandeth like a fiend or fury at the elbow of her *Amadis*, to ſtirre him forward when occaſion ſhall ſerve. And what effect ſuch female ſuggeſtions may worke, when they finde an humour proud and pliable to their purpoſe, you may remember by the example of the Ducheſſe of *Somerſet*, who inforced her Husband to cut off the head of his onely deare Brother, to his owne evident deſtruction, for her contentation.

The force of female ſuggeſtions.

Wherefore, to conclude this matter without further diſpute or reaſon: ſaying, there is ſo much diſcovered in the caſe as there is: ſo great deſire of raigne, ſo great impatience of delay, ſo great hope and hability of ſucceſſe, if it be attempted under the good fortune and preſent authority of the competitours: ſeeing the plots be ſo well laid, the preparation ſo forward, the favourers ſo furniſhed, the time ſo propitious, and ſo many other cauſes conviting together: ſeeing that by differing, all may be hazarded, and by haſtening, little can be indangered; the ſtate and condition of things well weyed: finding alſo the bands of duty ſo broken already in the conſpiratours, the cauſes of miſlike and hatred ſo manifeſt, and the ſolicitours to execution, ſo potent and diligent, as women, malice, and ambition, are wont to bee: it is more then probable, that they will not leeſe their preſent commodity, eſpecially ſeeing they have learned by their Archi-tipe or Proto-plot which they follow, (I meane the conſpiracy of *Northumberland* and *Suffolke* in King *Edwards* dayes) that herein there was ſome errour committed at that time, which overthrew the whole; and that was, the deſerring of ſome things untill after the Kings death, which ſhould have beene put in execution before.

An evident concluſion that the execution is meant in time of her Majeſty.

An errour of the Father now to bee corrected by the Sonne.

For if in the time of their plotting, when as yet their

their designements were not published to the world, they had under the countenance of the King (as well they might have done) gotten into their hands the two Sisters, and dispatched some other few affaires, before they had caused the young Prince to die: no dobut, but in mans reason the whole designement had taken place: and consequently it is to be presupposed, that these men (being no fooles in their owne affaires) will take heed of falling into the like errour by delay: but rather will make all sure, by striking while the iron is hot, as our proverbe warneth them.

Lawyer. It cannot bee denied in reason (quoth the Lawyer) but that they have many helpes of doing what they list now, under the present a favour, countenance, and authority of her Majesty, which they should not have after her Highnesse decease: when each man shall remaine more at liberty for his supreame obedience, by reason of the statute provided for the uncertainty of the next successor: and therefore I for my part, would rather counsell them to make much of her Majesties life; for after that, they little know what may ensue, or befall their designements.

Gentleman. They will make the most thereof (quoth the Gentleman) for their owne advantage, but after that, what is like to follow, the examples of *Edward* and *Richard* the second, as also of *Henry* and *Edward* the sixt, doe sufficiently fore-warne us: whose lives were prolonged, untill their deaths were thought more profitable to the conspiratours, and not longer. And for the statute you speak of, procured by themselves, for establishing the incertainty of the next true successour, (whereas all our former statutes were wont to be made for the declaration and certainty of the same) it is with *Proviso*, (as you know)

Her Majesties life and death, to serve the conspiratours turne.

know) that it ſhall not endure longer then the life of her Majeſty, that now raigneth: that is, indeed, no longer then untill themſelves be ready to place another. For then, no doubt, but wee ſhall ſee a faire Proclamation, that my Lord of *Huntington* is the onely next heire: with a bundle of halters to hang all ſuch, as ſhall dare once open their mouth for deniall of the ſame.

A Proclamation with halters.

At theſe words the old Lawyer ſtepped back, as ſomewhat aſtonied, and began to make Croſſes in the ayre after their faſhion, whereat we laughed; and then he ſaid, truly my Maſters I had thought that no man had conceived ſo evill imagination of this ſtatute as my ſelfe: but now I perceive that I alone am not malitious. For my owne part, I muſt confeſſe unto you, that as often as I reade over this ſtatute, or thinke of the ſame (as by divers occaſions many times I doe) I feele my ſelfe much greeved and afflicted in minde, upon feares which I conceive what may be the end of this ſtatute to our Countrey, and what privy meaning the chiefe procurers thereof might have for their owne drifts, againſt the Realme and life of her Majeſtie that now raigneth.

Lawyer.

Papiſticall bleſſing.

The ſtatute of concealing the heire apparant.

And ſo much more it maketh mee to doubt, for that in all our records of law, you ſhall not find (to my remembrance) any one example of ſuch a deviſe for concealing of the true inheritour: but rather in all ages, ſtates, and times, (eſpecially from *Richard* the firſt downeward) you ſhall finde ſtatutes, ordinances, and proviſions, for declaration and manifeſtation of the ſame, as you have well obſerved and touched before. And therefore, this ſtrange and new deviſe muſt needs have ſome ſtrange and unaccuſtomed meaning: and God of his mercy grant, that it have not ſome ſtrange and unexpected event.

Richard going towards *Hieruſalem*, began the cuſtome by Parliament, as *Polidore* noteth. *Anno* 10. of *Richard* the ſecond, to declare the next heire.

In

The danger of our Countrey by concealing the next heire.

In sight of all men, this is already evident, that never Countrey in the world was brought into more apparent danger of utter ruine, then ours is at this day, by pretence of this Statute. For whereas there is no Gentleman so meane in the Realme, that cannot give a guesse more or lesse, who shall bee his next heire, and his Tenants soone conjecture, what manner of person shall be their next Lord: in the title of our noble Crown, whereof all the rest dependeth; neither is her Majesty permitted to know or say, who shall be her next successor, nor her subjects allowed to understand or imagine, who in right may be their future Soveraigne: An intollerable injury in a matter of so singular importance.

Great inconveniences.

For (alas) what should become of this our native Counrrey, if God should take from us her most excellent Majesty (as once he will) and so leave us destitute upon the sudden, what should become of our lives, of our states, and of our whole Realme or governement? can any man promise himselfe one day longer, of rest, peace, possession, life or liberty within the land, then God shall lend us her Majesty to raigne over us? Which albeit, wee doe and are bound to wish that it may bee long: yet reason telleth us, that by course of nature, it cannot bee of any great continuance, and by a thousand accidents it may be much shorter. And shall then our most noble Common-wealth and Kingdome, which is of perpetuity, and must continue to our selves and our posterity, hang onely upon the life of her Highnesse alone, well strucken in yeares, and of no great good health, or robustious and strong complexion?

Sir *Christopher Hattons* Oration.

I was within hearing some six or seaven yeares agoe, when Sir *Christopher Hatton*, in a very great assembly, made an eloquent oration (which after I

wene

wene was put in print) at the pardoning and deliuery of him from the gallowes, that by errour (as was thought) had discharged his peece upon her Majesties Barge, and hurt certaine persons in her Highnesse presence. And in that Oration he declared and described very effectually, what inestimable dammage had ensued to the Realme, if her Majesty by that or any other means should have beene taken from us. He set forth most lively before the eyes of all men, what division, what dissension, what bloudshed had ensued, & what fatall dangers were most certaine to fall upon us, whensoever that dolefull day should happen: wherein no man should be sure of his life, of his goods, of his wife, of his children: no man certain whether to flie, whom to follow, or where to seeke repose or protection.

And as all the hearers there present did easily grant that he therein said truth, and farre lesse then might have beene said in that behalfe, things standing as they doe: so many one (I trow) hath heard these words proceed from a Councellour, that had good cause to know the state of his own Countrey, entred into this cogitation, what punishment they might deserve then, at the whole State and Common-wealths hands, who first by letting her Majesty from marriage, and then by procuring this Statute of dissembling the next inheritour, had brought their Realme into so evident and inevitable dangers? for every one well considered and weighed with himselfe, that the thing which yet only letted these dangers and miseries set downe by Sir *Christopher*, must necessarily one day faile us all, that is, the life of her Majesty now present: and then (say we) how falleth it out, that so generall a calamity as must needs overtake us ere it be long (and may, for any thing we know to morrow next) is not provided for, aswell as fore-seene.

Intollerable Treasons.

Is

Is there no remedy, but that wee must willingly and wittingly runne into our owne ruine? and for the favour or feare of some few aspirours, betray our Countrey, and the bloud of so many thousand innocents as live within the land?

The miseries so follow upon her Majesties death.

For tell mee (good Sirs) I pray you, if her Majestie should die to morrow next (whose life God long preserve and blesse,) but if she should be taken from us, (as by condition of nature and humane frailty she may) what would you doe? which way would you looke? or what head or part knew any good subject in the Realme to follow? I speake not of the conspiratours, for I know they will bee ready and resolved whom to follow: but I speake of the plaine, simple, and well-meaning subject, who following now the utter letter of this fraudulent statute, (fraudulent I meane in the secret conceipt of the cunning aspirours:) shall bee taken at that day upon the sudden, and being put in a maze by the unexpected contention about the Crowne, shall be brought into a thousand dangers, both of body and goods, which now are not thought upon by them who are most in danger of the same. And this is for the Common-wealth and Countrey.

The danger to her Majesty by this statute.

But unto her Majesty, for whose good and safety the statute is onely pretended to be made, no doubt but that it bringeth farre greater dangers then any devise that they have used besides. For hereby under colour of restraining the claimes and titles of true successours, (whose endeavours notwithstanding, are commonly more calme and moderate then of usurpers,) they make unto themselves, a meane to forster and set forward their owne conspiracy without controlement: seeing no man of might may oppose himselfe against them, but with suspition,

on, that he meaneth to claime for himselfe. And so they being armed on the one side, with their authority and force of present fortune, and defended on the other side, by the pretence of the statute: they may securely worke and plot at their pleasure, as you have well proved before that they doe. And whensoever their grounds and foundations shall be ready, it cannot be denied, but that her Majesties life lyeth much at their discretion, to take it, or use it, to their best commodity: (and there is no doubt but they will,) as such men are wont to doe in such affaires. Marry one thing standeth not in their powers so absolutely, and that is, to prolong her Majesties dayes, or favour towards themselves, at their pleasures: whereof it is not unlike but they will have due consideration, least perhaps upon any sudden accident, they might be found unready.

They have good care thereof I can assure you, (quoth the Gentleman) and meane not to bee prevented by any accident, or other mishap whatsoever: they will bee ready for all events: and for that cause, they hasten so much their preparations at this day, more then ever before: by sending out their spies and sollicitours everywhere, to prove and confirme their friends, by delivering their common watch-word: by complaining on all hands of our Protestants Bishops and Clergy, and of all the present state of our irreformed Religion, (as they call it:) by amplifying onely the danger of Papists and Scottish faction: by giving out openly that now her Majesty is past hope of Child-birth; and consequently, seeing God hath given no better successe that way in two Women one after the other; it were not convenient (say they) that another of that sexe should ensue, with high commendation of the Law *Salick* in *France*,

Gentleman.

The hastning of the Conspirators.

whereby women are forbidden to succeed. Which speech, though in shew it be delivered against the Queen of Scots, and other of King Henry the seventh his line, that discend of Sister: yet all men see that it toucheth as well the disabling of her Majesty, that is present, as others to come: and so tendeth directly to Maturation of the principall purpose, which I have declared before.

Schollar. Here said I, for the rest which you speake of, besides the Watch-word, it is common and every where treated in talke among them: but yet for the Watch word it selfe (for that you name it) I thinke (Sir) many know it not, if I were the first that told you the story, as perchance I was. For in truth I came to it by a rare hap (as then I told you) the thing being uttered and expounded by a Baron of their owne faction, to another Noble man of the same degree and religion, though not of the same opinion in these affaires. And for that I am requested not to utter the second, who told it me in secret, I must also spare the name of the first, which otherwise I would not; nor the time and place where he uttered the same.

The Watch-word of the Conspiratours.

Lawyer. To this (said the Lawyer) you doe well in that: but yet I beseech you, let me know this Watch-word (if there bee any such) for mine instruction and helpe when need shall require. For I assure you that this Gentlemans former speech of halters hath so terrified mee, as if any should come and aske, or feele my inclination in these matters, I would answer them fully to their good contentment, if I knew the Watch-word whereby to know them. For of all things, I love not to bee hanged for quarrels of Kingdomes.

Schollar. Are you sailed. This Watch-word is, (said I) *whether you be setled or no?* and if you answer yea, and seeme to understand

derstand the meaning thereof: then are you knowne to be of their faction, and so to bee accompted and dealt withall for things to come. But if you stagger or doubt in answering, as if you knew not perfectly the mistery, (as the Nobleman my good Lord did, imagining that it had beene meant of his religion, which was very well knowne to be good, and setled in the Gospell) then are you discried thereby, either not to be of their side, or else to be but a Punie not well instructed; and consequently, he that moveth you the question, will presently break off that speech, and turne to some other talke, untill afterward occasion be given to perswade you, or else instruct you better in that affaire. A great mistery.

Marry the Noble man, whereof I spake before, perceiving by the demanding, that there was some mistery in covert, under the question: tooke hold of the words, and would not suffer the propounder to slip away (as he endeavoured) but with much intreaty brought him at length to expound the full meaning and purpose of the riddle. And this was the first occasion (as I thinke) whereby this secret came abroad. Albeit afterwards at the publique Communions, which were made throughout so mamany Shires, the matter became more common: especially among the strangers that inhabite (as you know) in great numbers with us at this day. All which (as they say) are made most assured to this faction, and ready to assist the same with great forces at all occasions.

Good Lord (quoth the Lawyer) how many misteries and secrets be there abroad in the world, whereof we simple men know nothing, and suspect lesse. This Watch-word should I never have imagined: and for the great & often assemblies, under pretence of Communions, though of themselves, and of their owne *Lawyer.* Assemblies at Communions.

owne nature, they were unaccuſtomed, and conſequently ſubject to ſuſpition, yet I did never conceive ſo farre forth as now I doe: as neither of the lodging and entertaining of ſo many ſtrangers in the Realme, whereof our Artizans doe complaine every-where. But now I ſee the reaſon thereof, which (no doubt) is founded upon great policy for the purpoſe. And by this alſo I ſee that the houſe of *Huntington* preſſeth farre forward for the game, and ſhouldreth neare the goale to lay hands upon the ſame. Which to tell you plainly, liketh me but a little: both in reſpect of the good will I beare to the whole Line of King *Henry*, which hereby is like to be diſpoſſeſſed; as alſo for the miſery which I doe fore-ſee, muſt neceſſarily enſue upon our Countrey, if once the challenge of *Huntington* take place in our Realme. Which challenge being derived from the title of *Clarence* onely in the Houſe of *Yorke*, before the union of the two great Houſes: raiſeth up againe the old contention betweene the Families of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*, wherein ſo much *Engliſh* bloud was ſpilt in times paſt, and much more like to bee powred out now, if the ſame contention ſhould bee ſet on foot againe. Seeing that to the controverſie of Titles, would bee added alſo the controverſie of Religion, which of all other differences is moſt dangerous.

Strangers within the Land.

The perill of our Countrey if *Huntingtons* claime take place.

Gentleman. Sir (quoth the Gentleman) now you touch a matter of conſequence indeed, and ſuch as the very naming thereof maketh my heart to ſhake and tremble. I remember well what *Philip Cominus* ſetteth downe in his Hiſtory of our Countries calamity, by that contention of thoſe two Houſes, diſtinguiſhed by the Red Roſe and the White: but yet both in their Armes might juſtly have borne the colour of Red, with a fierie ſword in a black field; to ſignifie the

The Red Roſe & the White.

the abundance of bloud and mortality which enſued in our Countrey, by that moſt wofull and cruell contention.

I will not ſtand here to ſet downe the particulars, obſerved & gathered by the foreſaid author, though a ſtranger, which for the moſt part he ſaw himſelfe, while hee lived about the Duke of *Burgundy*, and King *Lewes* of *France*, of that time: namely the pitifull deſcription of divers right Noble men of our Realme, who beſides all other miſeries, were driven to begge openly in forraine Countries, and the like. Mine owne obſervation in reading over our Country affaires, is ſufficient to make me abhorre the memory of that time, and to dread all occaſion that may lead us to the like in time to come: ſeeing that in my judgement, neither the Civill warres of *Marius* and *Silla*, or of *Pompey* and *Cæſar* among the *Romanes*, nor yet the *Guelphians* and *Gibilines* among the *Italians*, did ever worke ſo much woe, as this did to our poore Countrey. Wherein by reaſon of the contention of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*, were foughten ſixteene or ſeventeen pitched fields, in leſſe then an hundred yeares. That is, from the eleventh or twelfth yeare of King *Richard* the ſecond his raigne, (when this controverſie firſt began to bud up) unto the thirteenth yeare of K. *Henry* the ſeventh. At what time by cutting off the chiefe titler of *Huntingtons* houſe, to wit, yong *Edward Plantaginet* Earle of *Warwick*, Son and Heire to *George*, Duke of *Clarence*; the contention moſt happily was quenched and ended, wherein ſo many fields (as I have ſaid) were foughten between Brethren and Inhabitants of our owne Nation. And therein, and otherwiſe onely about the ſame quarrel, were ſlain, murdered, and made away, about nine or ten Kings, and Kings Sonnes; beſides above forty Earles, Marqueſſes, and Dukes of name:

The miſery of England by the contention betweene Yorke and Lancaſter.

Guelphians and Gibilines.

Edward Plantaginet Earle of Warwick.

but many more Lords, Knights, and great Gentlemen and Captaines: and of the Common people without number, and by particular conjecture very neare two hundred thousand. For that in one Battell, fought by King *Edward* the fourth, there are recorded to be slaine on both parts, five and thirty thousand seven hundred and eleven persons, besides others wounded and taken prisoners, to be put to death afterward, at the pleasure of the Conquerour: at divers Battels after, ten thousand slaine at a Battell. And in those of *Barnet* and *Tuxesbury*, fought both in one yeare.

The Battell by *Lancaster* on Palme Sunday, *An.* 1460.

The danger of *Huntingtons* claime, to the Realme, and to her Majesty.

This suffered our afflicted Country in those dayes, by this unfortunate and deadly contention, which could never be ended, but by the happy conjunction of those two Houses together, in *Henry* the seventh: neither yet so (as appeareth by Chronicle) untill (as I have said) the state had cut off the issue male of the Duke of *Clarence*, who was cause of divers perils to King *Henry* the seventh, though he were in prison. By whose Sister the faction of *Huntington* at this day, doth seeke to raise up the same contention againe, with farre greater danger both to the Realme and to her Majesty that now raigneth, then ever before.

And for the Realme it is evident, by that it giveth roome to strangers, Competitours of the House of *Lancaster*: better able to maintaine their owne title by sword, then ever was any of that linage before them. And for her Majesties perill present, it is nothing hard to conjecture: seeing the same title in the fore-said Earle of *Warwick*, was so dangerous and troublesome to her Grandfather (by whom she holdeth) as hee was faine twice to take armes in defence of his right, against the said title, which was in those dayes preferred and advanced by the friendi

of *Clarence*, before that of *Henry*: as also this of *Huntington* is at this day, by his faction, before that of her Majesty though never so unjustly.

Touching *Huntingtons* title, before her Majesty, (quoth the Lawyer) I will say nothing: because in reason, I see not by what pretence in the World, he may thrust himselfe so farre forth: seeing her Majesty is descended, not onely of the House of *Lancaste*, but also before him most apparent'y from the House of *Yorke* it selfe, as from the eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, being the eldest Brother of that House. Whereas *Huntington* claimeth onely by the Daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, the younger Brother. Marry yet I must confesse, that if the Earle of *warwicks* title were better then that of King *Henry* the seventh, (which is most false, though many attempted to defend the same by sword:) then hath *Huntington* some wrong at this day by her Majesty. Albeit in very truth, the * attaints of so many of his Ancestours by whom he claimeth, would answer him also sufficiently in that behalfe, if his title were otherwise allowable.

Lawyer.

How *Huntington* maketh his title before her Majesty.

* The most of *Huntingtons* Ancestors by whom hee maketh title, attainted of Treason.

But I know besides this, they have another fetch of King *Richard* the third, whereby he would needs prove his elder Brother King *Edward* to bee a Bastard: and consequently his whole line, aswell male as female to be void. Which devise though it be ridiculous, and was at that time when it was first invented: yet, as *Richard* found at that time a Doctor *Shaw*, that shamed not to publish and defend the same, at *Pauls* Crosse in a Sermon: and *John* of *Northumberland* my Lord of *Leycesters* Father found out divers Preachers in his time, to set up the title of *Suffolke*, & to debase the right of K. *Henries* daughter, both in *London*, *Cambridge*, *Oxford*, and other places,

The famous device of king *Richard* the third, allowed by *Huntington*.

Anno 1. Maria.

most apparently against all Law and reason: so I doubt not but these men would finde out also both *Shawes*, *Sands*, and others, to set out the title of *Clarence*, before the whole interest of King *Henry* the seventh and his posterity, if occasion served. Which is a point of importance to bee considered by her Majesty; albeit for my part, I meane not not now to stand thereupon, but onely upon that other of the House of *Lancaster*, as I have said.

A point to be noted by her Majesty.

For as that most honourable, lawfull, and happy conjunction of the two adversary Houses, in King *Henry* the seventh and his Wife, made an end of the shedding of *English* bloud within it selfe, and brought us that most desired peace, which ever since wee have enjoyed, by the raigne of their two most noble issue: so the plot that now is in hand, for the cutting off the residue of that issue, and for recalling backe of the whole Title to the House of *Yorke* againe; is like to plung us deeper then ever in civile discord, and to make us the bait of all forraine Princes: seeing there be among them at this day, some of no small power (as I have said) who pretend to bee the next heires by the House of *Lancaster*: and consequently, are not like to give over or abandon their owne right, if once the doore bee opened to contention for the same, by disanulling the Line of King *Henry* the seventh: wherein onely the keyes of all concord remaine knit together.

The joyning of both houses.

The Line of *Portugall*.

And albeit I know well that such as be of my Lord of *Huntingtons* party, will make small accompt of the Title of *Lancaster*, as lesse rightfull a great deale then that of *Yorke*, (and I for my part meane not greatly to avow the same, as now it is placed, being my selfe no favourer of forraine Titles:) yet indifferent men have to consider how it was taken in

times

times past, and how it may againe in time to come, if contention should arise: how many Noble personages of our Realme did offer themselves to die in defence thereof: how many Oaths and Lawes were given and received throughout the Realme for maintenance of the same, against the other House of *Yorke* for ever: how many worthy Kings were crowned, and raigned of that House and Race; to wit, the foure most Noble *Henries*, one after another; the fourth, the fift, the sixt, and the seventh: who both in number, government, sanctity, courage, and feats of armes, were nothing inferiour (if not superiour) to those of the other House and Line of *Yorke*, after the division betweene the Families.

The old estimation of the House of *Lancaster*.

It is to bee considered also as a speciall signe of the favour and affection of our whole Nation unto that Family: that *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, though discending but of the last Sonne, and third Wife of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, was so respected for that onely by the universall Realme: as they inclined wholly to call him from banishment, and to make him King with the deposition of *Richard*, which then ruled of the House of *Yorke*, upon condition onely, that the said *Henry* should take to Wife a Daughter of the contrary Family: so great was in those dayes the affection of *English* hearts towards the Line of *Lancaster*, for the great worthinesse of such Kings as had raigned of that Race, how good or bad soever their Title were: which I stand not here at this time to discusse, but onely to insinuate what party the same found in our Realme in times past; and consequently, how extreame dangerous the contention for the same may be hereafter: especially, seeing that at this day the remainder of that Title is pretended to rest wholly in a stranger, whose power is very great. Which we Lawyers are

Henry Earle of *Richmond*.

The Line of *Portugall*.

are wont to esteeme as a point of no sma'l importance, for justifying of any mans title to a Kingdome.

Scholar. You Lawyers want not reason in that Sir (quoth I) howsoever you want right: for if you will examine the succession of governements, from the beginning of the World untill this day, either among Gentile, Jew, or Christian people, you shall finde that the sword hath beene alwayes better then halfe the title, to get, establish, or maintaine a Kingdome: which maketh me the more apalled to heare you discourse in such sort of new contentions, and forraine titles, accompanied with such power and strength of the titlers, which cannot bee but infinitely dangerous and fatall to our Realme, if once it come to action; both for the division that is like to be at home, and the variety of parties from abroad. For as the Prince whom you signifie, will not faile (by all likelyhood) to pursue his title with all forces that hee can make, if occasion were offered: so reason of state and policy will enforce other Princes adjoyning, to let and hinder him therein what they can: and so by this meanes shall we become *Juda* and *Israel* among our selves, one killing and vexing the other with the sword: and to forraine Princes we shall be, as the Iland of *Salamina* was in old time to the *Athenians* and *Megatians*: and as the Iland of *Cicilia* was afterward to the *Grecians*, *Carthaginians*, and *Romans*: and as in our dayes, the Kingdome of *Naples* hath beene to the *Spaniards*, *French-men*, *Germans*, and *Venetians*; That is, a bait to feed upon, and a game to fight for.

The sword of great force to justifie the title of a kingdome.

Great dangers.

Wherefore, I beseech the Lord, to avert from us all occasions of such miseries. And I pray you Sir, for that wee are fallen into the mention of these matters,

matters, to take ſo much paines as to open unto me the ground of theſe controverſies, ſo long now quiet betweene *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*: ſeeing they are now like to bee raiſed againe. For albeit in generall I have heard much thereof, yet in particular, I either conceive not, or remember not the foundation of the ſame: and much leſſe the ſtate of their ſeverall titles at this day, for that it is a ſtudy not properly pertaining unto my profeſſion.

Lawyer.

The controverſie betweene the Houſes of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter* (quoth the Lawyer) took his actuall beginning in the iſſue of King *Edward* the third, who died ſomewhat more then two hundred yeares agone: but the occaſion, pretence, or cauſe of that quarrell, began in the children of King *Henry* the third, who died an hundred yeares before that, and left two Sonnes; *Edward*, who was King after him, by the name of *Edward* the firſt, and was Grandfather to *Edward* the third: and *Edmond* (for his deformity called Crookebacke) Earle of *Lancaſter*, and beginner of that Houſe, whoſe inheritance afterward in the fourth diſcent, fell upon a Daughter named *Blanch*, who was married to the fourth Son of King *Edward* the third, named *John* of *Gaunt*, for that he was borne in the City of *Gaunt* in *Flanders*, and ſo by this his firſt wife, hee became Duke of *Lancaſter*, and heire of that Houſe. And for that his Son *Henry* of *Bolinghrooke* (afterward called King *Henry* the fourth) pretended among other things, that *Edmond Crookeback*, great Grandfather to *Blanch* his mother, was the elder Sonne of King *Henry* the third, and unjuſtly put by the inheritance of the Crowne, for that he was Crook-backed and deformed: hee tooke by force the Kingdome from *Richard* the ſecond, Nephew to King *Edward* the third, by his firſt Sonne; and placed the ſame in

The beginning of the controverſie betwixt Yorke and Lancaſter.

Edmond Crookback beginner of the Houſe of Lancaſter.

Blanch.

John of Gaunt.

How the King dome was first brought to the House of Lancaster.

in the House of *Lancaster*, where it remained for three whole discents, untill afterward, *Edward* Duke of *Yorke* descended of *Iohn* of *Gaunts* yonger brother, making claime to the Crowne by title of his Grandmother, that was heire to *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, *Iohn* of *Gaunts* elder Brother, tooke the same by force from *Henry* the sixt, of the House of *Lancaster*, and brought it backe againe to the House of *Yorke*: where it continued with much trouble in two Kings onely, untill both Houses were joyned together in King *Henry* the seventh, and his noble issue.

Hereby wee see how the issue of *Iohn* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, fourth Son to King *Edward* the third, pretended right to the Crowne by *Edmond Crookebacke*, before the issue of all the other three Sonnes of *Edward* the third, albeit they were the elder Brothers, whereof wee will speake more hereafter. Now *Iohn* of *Gaunt* though hee had many children, yet had he foure onely, of whom issue remaine, two Sonnes and two Daughters. The first Son was *Henry* of *Bolingbrooke*, Duke of *Lancaster*, who tooke the Crowne from King *Richard* the second, his Unkles Sonne, as hath beene said; and first of all planted the same in the House of *Lancaster*: where it remained in two discents after him, that is, in his Son *Henry* the fift, and in his Nephew *Henry* the sixt, who was afterward destroyed, together with *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, his onely Sonne and Heire, and consequently all that Line of *Henry Bolingbrooke* extinguished, by *Edward* the fourth of the House of *Yorke*.

The issue of *Iohn* of *Gaunt*.

The other Son of *Iohn* of *Gaunt*, was *Iohn*, Duke of *Somerset*, by *Katherine Sfinsford*, his third wife: which *Iohn* had issue another *Iohn*, and he, *Margaret* his Daughter and Heire, who being married to *Ed-*

The pedegree of king *Henry* the seventh.

mond

mond Tyder, Earle of *Richmond*, had issue *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, who after was named King *Henry* the seventh, whose Line yet endureth.

The two Daughters of *John* of *Gaunt* were married to *Portugall* and *Castile*: that is, *Philip* borne of *Blanch*, Heire to *Edmond Crookeback*, as hath beene said, was married to *Iohn* King of *Portugall*, of whom is descended the King that now possesseth *Portugall*, and the other Princes which have or may make title to the same: and *Katherin* borne of *Constance*, Heire of *Castile*, was married back againe to *Henry* King of *Castile* in *Spaine*, of whom King *Philip* is also descended. So that by this, wee see where the remainder of the House of *Lancaster* resteth, if the Line of King *Henry* the seventh were extinguished: and what pretext forraine Princes may have to subdue us, if my Lord of *Huntington* either now, or after her Majesties dayes, will open to them the doore, by shutting out the rest of King *Henries* Line, and by drawing backe the title to the onely House of *Yorke* againe: which he pretendeth to doe, upon this that I will now declare.

The two Daughters married to *Portugall* and *Castile*.

Forraine titles.

King *Edward* the third, albeit he had many children, yet five onely will we speake of at this time: Whereof three were elder then *John* of *Gaunt*, and one yonger. The first of the elder was named *Edward* the blacke Prince, who died before his Father, leaving one onely Sonne named *Richard*, who afterward being King, and named *Richard* the second, was deposed without issue, and put to death by his Cosin germain, named *Henry Bolingbrooke*, Duke of *Lancaster*, Son to *John* of *Gaunt*, as hath beene said; and so there ended the Line of King *Edwards* first Sonne.

The issue of king *Edward* the 3.

King *Edwards* second Sonne, was *William* of *Hatfield*, that died without issue.

His

His third Sonne was *Leonell* Duke of *Clarence*, whose onely Daughter and Heire called *Philip*, was married to *Edmond Mortimer* Earle of *March*: and after that, *Anne* the Daughter and Heire of *Mortimer*, was married to *Richard Plantagi-et*, Duke of *Yorke*, Son and Heire to *Edmond* of *Langley*, the first Duke of *Yorke*: which *Edmond* was the fift Son of King *Edward* the third, and younger Brother to *John* of *Gaunt*. And this *Edmond* of *Langley* may bee called the first beginner of the House of *Yorke*: even as *Edmond Crookback*, the beginner of the House of *Lancaster*.

Two *Edmonds* the two beginners of the two Houses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*.

This *Edmond Langley*, then having a Sonne named *Richard*, that married *Anne Mortimer*, sole Heire to *Leonell* Duke of *Clarence*, joyned two Lines and two Titles in one: I meane the Line of *Leonell*, and of *Edmond Langley*, who were (as hath bin said) the third and the fift Sonnes to King *Edward* the third. And for this cause, the childe that was borne of this marriage, named after his Father *Richard Plantaginet*, Duke of *Yorke*, seeing himselfe strong, and the first Line of King *Edward* the thirds eldest Son to be extinguished in the death of King *Richard* the second: and seeing *William* of *Hatfield* the second Sonne dead likewise without issue: made demand of the Crowne for the House of *Yorke*, by the title of *Leonell* the third Sonne of King *Edward*. And albeit hee could not obtaine the same in his dayes, for that hee was slaine in a Battell against King *Henry* the sixt at *Wakefield*: yet his Sonne *Edward* got the same, and was called by the name of King *Edward* the fourth.

The claime and title of *Yorke*.

This King at his death left divers children, as namely two Sonnes, *Edward* the fift and his Brother, who after were both murdered in the Tower, as shall be shewed: and also five Daughters: to wit,

The issue of king *Edward* the fourth.

Elizabeth,

Elizabeth, *Cicily*, *Anne*, *Katherine*, and *Briget*. Whereof, the first was married to *Henry* the seventh. The last became a Nunne, and the other three were bestowed upon divers other husbands.

Hee had also two Brothers: the first was called *George* Duke of *Iarence*, who afterward upon his deserts (as is to be supposed,) was put to death in *Callis*, by commandement of the King, and his attainder allowed by Parliament. And this man left behinde him a Sonne, named *Edward* Earle of *Warwick*, put to death afterward without issue, by King *Henry* the seventh, and a Daughter named *Margaret*, Countesse of *Salisbury*, who was married to a meane Gentleman named *Richard Poole*, by whom she had issue Cardinall *Poole*, that died without marriage; and *Henry Poole* that was attainted and executed in King *Henry* the eight his time; (as also her selfe was) and this *Henry Poole* left a Daughter married afterward to the Earle of *Huntington*, by whom this Earle that now is maketh title to the Crowne. And this is the effect of my Lord of *Huntingtons* title.

The Duke of Clarence attainted by Parliament.

Huntingtons title by the Duke of *Clarence*.

The second Brother of King *Edward* the fourth, was *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*, who after the Kings death, caused his two Sonnes to be murdered in the Tower, and tooke the Kingdome to himselfe. And afterward he being slaine by King *Henry* the seventh at *Bosworth-field*, left no issue behind him. Wherefore King *Henry* the seventh descending as hath bin shewed of the House of *Lancaster*, by *John* of *Gaunts* last Sonne and third Wife, and taking to Wife Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, of the House of *Yorke*: joyned most happily the two Families together, and made an end of all controversies about the title.

King *Richard* the third.

The happy conjunction of the two Houses.

Now King *Henry* the seventh had issue three Children:

The issue of King *Henry* the seventh.

dren: of whom remaineth posterity. First, *Henry* the eighth, of whom is descended our Soveraigne, her Majesty that now happily raigneth, and is the last that remaineth alive of that first Line. Secondly, he had two Daughters: whereof the first named *Margaret*, was married twice; first to *James* King of *Scotland*, from whom are directly discended the Queene of *Scotland* that now liveth, and her Sonne: and King *James* being dead, *Margaret* was married againe to *Archibald Douglas* Earle of *Anguish*: by whom shee had a Daughter named *Margaret*, which was married afterward to *Mathew Steward*, Earle of *Lenox*, whose Sonne *Charles Steward* was married to *Elizabeth Candish*, Daughter to the present Countesse of *Shrewsbury*, and by her hath left his onely Heire, a little Daughter named *Arbella*, of whom you have heard some speech before. And this is touching the Line of *Scotland*, descending from the first and eldest Daughter of King *Henry* the seventh.

The Line and Title of *Scotland* by *Margaret*, eldest Daughter to King *Henry* the 7.

Arbella.

The Line and Title of *Suffolke* by *Mary*, second daughter to King *Henry* the 7.

The second Daughter of King *Henry* the seventh called *Mary*, was twice married also: first to the King of *France*, by whom she had no issue: and after his death to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*, by whom she had two Daughters; that is, *Francis*, of which the Children of my Lord of *Hartford* do make their claime: and *Elenor*, by whom the issue of the Earle of *Darby* pretendeth right, as shall be declared. For that *Francis* the first Daughter of *Charles Brandon* by the Queene of *France*, was married to the Marquesse of *Dorset*, who after *Charles Brandons* death, was made Duke of *Suffolke* in right of his Wife, and was beheaded in Queene *Maries* time, for his conspiracy with my Lord of *Leycesters* Father. And she had by this man three Daughters: that is, *Jane*, that was married to my Lord of *Leycesters* Brother, and proclaimed

The issue of *Francis*, eldest Daughter to *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolke*.

proclaimed Queene after King *Edwards* death, for which both shee and her husband were executed: *Katherine* the second Daughter, who had two Sonnes, yet living by the Earle of *Hereford*: and *Mary* the third Daugter, which left no Children.

The issue of Francis eldest daughter to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk.

The other Daughter of *Charles Brandon* by the Queene of France called *Eleanor*, was married to *George Clifford* Earle of Cumberland, who left a Daughter by her named *Margaret*, married to the Earle of Darby, which yet liveth, and hath issue. And this is the title of the House of *Suffolke*, descended from the second Daughter of K. *Henry* the seventh, married (as hath been shewed) to *Charles Brandon* Duke of Suffolke. And by this, you may see also how many there be, who do thinke their titles to be far before that of my Lord of *Huntington*, if either right, law, reason, or consideration of home affaires may take place in our Realm: or if not, yet you cannot but imagine how many great Princes and Potentates abroad, are like to joyne and buckle with *Huntingtons* Line for the preeminence: if once the matter fall againe to contention by excluding the Line of King *Henry* the seventh, which God forbid.

The issue of Eleanor second daughter to Charles Brandon.

Truly Sir (quoth I) I well perceive that my Lords turne is not so nigh as I had thought, whether he exclude the Line of King *Henry*, or no: for if he exclude that, then must he enter the Combat with forraine titlers of the House of *Lancaster*: and if he exclude it not, then in all apparance of reason and in Law to (as you have said) the succession of the two Daughters of King *Henry* the seventh (which you distinguish by the two names of *Scotland* and *Suffolke*) must needs bee as clearely before him and his Line, that decended only from *Edward* the fourth his Brother, as the Queenes title that now reigneth

Scholar. Huntington behind many other titles.

is before him. For that both Scotland, Suffolke and her Majesty do hold all by one foundation, which is the union of both Houses and Titles together, in King *Henry* the seventh her Majesties Grandfather.

Gentleman. That is true (quoth the Gentleman) and evident enough to every mans eye; and therefore no doubt: but as that much is meant against her Majesty, if occasion serve, as against the rest that hold by the same title. Albeit her Majesties state (the Lord be praised) be such at this time, as it is not safty to pretend so much against her, as against the rest, whatsoever be meant. And that in truth, more should be ment against her highnes, then against all the rest: there is this reason; for that her Majesty by her present possession letteth more their desires, then all the rest together with their future pretences. But as I have said, it is not safety for them, nor yet good policy to declare openly, what they meane against her Majesty. It is the best way for the present to hew downe the rest, and to leave her Majesty for the last blow and upshot to their game. For which cause, they will seeme to make great difference at this day, betweene her Majesties title and the rest, that descend in likewise from King *Henry* the seventh: avowing the one, and disallowing the other. Albeit, my Lord of *Leicesters* Father, preferred that of *Suffolke*, when time was, before this of her Majesty, and compelled the whole Realme to sweare thereunto. Such is the variable policy of men, that serve the time, or rather that serve themselves, of all times, for their purposes.

The policy of the conspiratours for the deceiving of her Maiesty.

Scholar. I remember (quoth I) that time of the Duke, and was present my selfe, at some of his Proclamations for that purpose: wherein my Lord his Sonne

Sonne that now liveth: being then a doer, (as I can tell he was:) I marvile how he can deale so contrary now: preferring not onely her Majesties title before that of *Suffolk* (whereof I wonder lesse because it is more gainfull to him,) but also another much further of. But you have signified the cause, in that the times are changed, and other bargaines are in hand of more importance for him. Wherefore leaving this to be considered by others whom it concerneth, I beseech you, Sir, (for that I know, your worship hath beeene much conversant among their friends and favourers) to tell me what are the barres and lets which they doe alledge, why the house of Scotland and Suffolk descended of king *Henry* the seventh his daughters, should not succeed in the Crowne of England after her Majesty, who ended the line of the same king by his son; for in my sight the matter appeareth very plaine.

Leycesters variability.

They want not pretences of barres and lets against them all (quoth the Gentleman) which I will lay downe in order, as I have heard them alledged. First, in the line of Scotland there are three persons as you know, that may pretend right, that is the Queen and her son by the first marriage of *Margaret*, and *Arbella* by the second. And against the first marriage, I heare nothing affirmed; but against the two persons proceeding thereof, I heare them alledge three stops, one for that they are stangers born out of the land, & consequently incapable of inheritance within the same; another for that by a speciall testament of king *H.*8. authorised by a.severall parliam. they are excluded; 3 for that they are enemies to the religion now among us & therefore to be debarred.

Gentleman.

Barres pretended against the claim of Scotland and Suffolke.

Against the Queen of Scotland and her sonne.

Against the second marriage of *Margret* with *Archibald Dougl.as* whereof *Arbella* is descended,

Against Arbella.

they alledge, that the said *Archibald* had a former wife at the time of that marriage, which lived long after: and so neither that marriage lawfull, nor the issue therof legitimate.

The same barre they have against all the house and Line of Suffolke, for first they say, that *Charles Brandon* Duke of Suffolke, had a knowen wife alive when he married *Mary* Queen of France, and consequently, that neither the Lady *Frances* nor *Elenor*, borne of that marriage, can be lawfully borne. And this is all, I can heare them say against the succession of the Countesse of *Darby* descended of *Elenor*. But against my Lord of *Hartfords* children, that came from *Frances* the eldest daughter, I heare them alledge two or three bastardies more besides this of the first marriage. For first, they affirme that *Henry* Marquesse *Dorset*, when hee married the Lady *Frances*, had to wife the old Earl of *Arundels* sister, who lived both then and many yeares after, and had a provision out of his living to her dying day: wherby that marriage could no way be good. Secondly that the lady *Katherine*, daughter to the said Lady *Frances*, by the Marques (by whom the Earl of Hartford had his children) was lawfully married to the Earle of Pembroke that now liveth, and consequently, could have no lawfull issue by any other during his life. 3ly. that the said *Katherine* was never lawfully married to the said Earl *Hartford*, but bare him those children as his Concubine, which (as they say) is defined and registred in the Archb. of Canterburies court, upon due examination taken by order of her Majesty that now reigneth, and this is in effect so much as I have heard them all alledge, about their affars.

Against Darby.

Against the children of Hartford.

Scholar. It is much (quoth I) that you have said, if it may be all proved. Marry yet by the way, I cannot but smile to heare my Lord of *Leycester* allow of so many bastardies now upon the issue of Lady

Frances, whom in time past, when *Jane* her eldest daughter was married to his brother, he advanced in legitimation before both the daughters of king *Henry* the eight. But to the purpose: I would gladly know what grounds of verity these allegations have, and how far in truth they may stoppe from inheritance: for in deed I never heard them so distinctly alledged before. Leycesters dealing with the house of Suffolk.

Whereto answered the Gentleman, that our friend the Lawyer could best resolve that, if it pleased him to speake without his fee: though in some points alledged every other man (quoth he) that knoweth the state and common government of England, may easily give his judgement also. And in the case of bastardy, if the matter may be proved, there is no difficulty, but that no right to inheritance can justly bee pretended: as also (perhaps) in the case of forraine birth, though in this I am not so cunning: but yet I see by experience, that forrainers borne in other lands, can hardly come and claime inheritance in England, albeit, to the contrary, I have heard great and long disputes, but such as indeed passed my capacity. And if it might please our friend here present to expound the thing unto us more clearly, I for my part would gladly bestow the hearing, and that with attention. *Gentleman.* Bastardy. Forraine birth.

To this answered the Lawyer, I will gladly, sir, tell you my minde in any thing that it shall please you demand: and much more in this matter, wherein by occasion of often conference I am somewhat perfect. The impediments which these men alledge against the succession of king *Henry* the 8. his sisters, are of two kinds, as you see: The one knowne and allowed in our law, as you have well said, if it may be proved; and that is bastardy: whereby they seek to disable all the whole Line *Lawyer.* Bastardies lawfull stops.

and race of *Suffolke*: as also *Arbella* of the second and later house of Scotland. Whereof it is to small purpose to speak any thing here: seeing the whole controversie standeth upon a matter of fact onely to be proved or improved by records and witnesses. Onely this I will say, that some of these bastardies, before named, are rife in many mens mouthes, and avowed by divers that yet live: but let other men looke to this, who have most interest therein, and may be most damnified by them, if they fall out true. The other impediments, which are alledged onely against the Queene of Scots and her son, are in number three, as you recite them: that is forraine birth, king *Henries* testament, and Religion: whereof I am content to say somewhat, seeing you desire it: albeit there be so much published already in bookes of divers languages beyond the sea, as I am informed, concerning this matter, as more cannot be said. But yet so much as I have heard passe among Lawyers my betters, in conference of these affaires: I will not let to recite unto you, with this proviso and protestation alwayes, that what I speake, I speak by way of recitall of other mens opinions: not meaning my selfe to incurre the statute of affirming or avowing any persons title to the crown whatsoever.

The impediments against Scotland three in number.

A protestation.

Touching the first impediment of forraine birth.

First then touching forraine birth, there bee some men in the world that will say, that it is a common and generall rule of our law, that no stranger at al may inherit any thing by any means within the Land: which in truth I take to be spoken without ground, in that generall sense. For I could never yet come to the sight of any such common or universall rule: and I know, that divers examples may be alledged in sundry cases to the contrary: and by that which is expressly set down

downe in the seventh and ninth years of king *Ed.* the 4. and in the eleventh and fourteenth of *Hen.* the 4. it appeareth plainly that a stranger may purchase lands in England, as also to herit by his wife, if he marry an inheritrix. Wherefore this common rule is to bee restrained from that generality, unto proper inheritance only; in which sense I do easily grant, that our common Law hath beenof ancient, and is at this day, that no person born out of the allegiance of the king of England whose father & mother were not of the same allegiance at the time of his birth, shall be able to have or demand any heritage within the same allegiance, as heire to any person. And this rule of our common Law is gathered in these self same words of a statute made in the 25. year of king *Ed.* the third, which indeed is the onely place of effect, that can be alledged out of our law against the inheritance of strangers in such sense and cases as we are now to treat of.

An Alien may purchase.

The true Maxima against Aliens.

The statute of King Edward whence the Maxima is gathered.

And albeit now the common Law of our Country do runne thus in generall, yet will the friends of the Scottish claime affirme, that hereby that title is nothing let or hindred at all towards the Crowne; and that for divers manifest and weighty reasons, whereof the principall are these which ensue.

Reasons why the Scottish title is not letted by the Maxima against Aliens.

First, it is common and a generall rule of our English lawes, that no rule, Axiome or Maxima of law (be it never so generall) can touch or bind the Crown, except expresse mention bee made thereof in the same; for that the king and crowne have great priviledge and prerogative above the state and affaires of subjects, and great differences allowed in points of law.

The first reason.

As for example, it is a generall & common rule of law, that the wife after the decease of her husband,

The rule of thirds.

band, shall enjoy the third of his lands: but yet the Queene shall not enjoy the third part of the Crowne, after the Kings death: as well appeareth by experience, and is to be seene by law, *Anno* 5. and 21. of *Edward* the third; and *Anno* 9. and 28. of *Henry* the first. Also it is a common rule, that the husband shall hold his wives lands after her death, as tenant by courtesie during his life, but yet it holdeth not in a Kingdome.

Tenant by courtesie.

In like manner, it is a generall and common rule, that if a man dye seased of Land in Fee-simple, having daughters and no sonne, his lands shall be divided by equall portions among his daughters, which holdeth not in the Crowne: but rather the eldest Daughter inheriteth the whole, as if she were the issue male. So also it is a common rule of our law, that the executor shall have all the goods and chattels of the Testator, but not in the Crowne. And so in many other cases which might bee recited, it is evident that the Crowne hath priviledge above others, and cannot be subject to rule, be it never so generall, except expresse mention be made thereof in the same law: as it is in the former place and a statute alledged: but rather to the contrary (as after shall be shewed) there is expresse exception, for the prerogative of such as descend of Royall bloud.

Division among daughters.

Executors.

The 2 reason. The Crowne no such inheritance as is meant in the statute.

Their second reason is, for that the demand or title of a Crowne cannot in true sense bee comprehended under the words of the former statute, forbidding aliens to demand heritage within the allegiance of England: and that for two respects. The one, for that the Crowne it selfe cannot be called an heritage of allegiance, or within allegiance, for that it is holden of no superiour upon earth, but immediately from God himselfe:

the

the second, for that this statute treateth onely and meaneth of inheritance by descent, as heyre to the same, (for I have shewed before that Aliens may hold lands by purchase within our Dominion) and then say they, the Crowne is a thing incorporate, and descendeth not according to the common course of other private inheritances: but goeth by succession, as other incorporations doe. In signe whereof it is evident, that albeit the King be more favoured in all his doings, then any common person shall be, yet cannot hee avoyd by law his grants and letters patents by reason of his nonage (as other infants and common heires under age may doe) but alwayes be said to be of full age in respect of his Crown: even as a Prior, Parson, Vicar, Deane, or other person incorporate shall be, which cannot by any meanes in law bee said to be within age, in respect of their incorporations. The Crowne a corporation.

Which thing maketh an evident difference in our case, from the meaning of the former statute: for that a Prior, Deane, or Parson, being Aliens and no Denizens, might alwayes in time of peace demand lands in England, in respect of their corporations, notwithstanding the said statute or common law against Aliens, as appeareth by many booke cases yet extant: as also by the statute made in the time of King *Richard* the second, which was after the foresaid statute of King *Edward* the third.

The third reason is, for that in the former statute it selfe of King *Edward*, there are excepted expresly from this generall rule, *Infantes du Roy*, that is, the Kings off spring or issue, as the word *Infant* doth signifie, both in France, Portugall, Spaine, and other Countries: and as the Latine word *Liberi* (which answereth the same) is taken com- The 3. reason. The Kings issue excepted by name.

commonly in the civill law. Neither may we re-
Liberorum. F. de verb. sign. straine the french words of that Satute *Infants du Roy*, to the kings children onely of the first degree (as some doe, for that the barrennesse of our language doth yeeld us no other word for the same) but rather, that therby are understood, as well the nephewes and other discendants of the king or blood Royall, as his immediate children. For it were both unreasonable and ridiculous to imagin that king *Edward* by this statute, would go about to disinherit his own nephews, if he should have any borne out of his own allegiance (as easily he might at that time) his sons being much abroad from England; and the black Prince, his eldest son having two children borne beyond the seas: and consequently, it is apparent, that this rule or maxime set down against Aliens is no way to be stretched against the descendants of the king or of the blood Royall.

The fourth reason The Kings meaning. Their fourth reason is, that the meaning of king *Edward* and his children (living at such time as this statute was made) could not be, that any of their linage or issue might be excluded in law, from inheritance of their right to the Crowne, by their foraine birth wheresoever. For otherwise, it is not credible that they would so much have dispersed their own blood in other Countries, as they did, by giving their daughters to strangers, & other meanes: as *Leonel* the kings third son was married in Millan, and *Iohn* of Gaunt the fourth son, gave his two daughters, *Philip* and *Katherine* to Portugall and Castile; and his neece *Ioan* to the king of Scots; as *Thomas* of Woodstocke also the yongest brother, married his two daughters, the one to the king of Spaine, and the other to Duke of Britaine. Which no doubt (they being wise Princes, and so neer of the blood Royal) would never

The matches of England with foraigners.

have

have done; if they had imagined that hereby their issue should have lost all claime and title to the Crown of England: and therefore it is most evident, that no such bar was then extant or imagin'd

The fift reason. Examples of forainers admitted

The fift reason is, that divers persons born out of all English dominion and allegiance, both before the Conquest and since, have bin admitted to the succession of our Crown, as lawfull inheritours, without any exception against them for their foraine birth As before the Conquest is evident in yong *Edgar Etheling* borne in Hungarie, and thence called home to inherit the Crowne, by his great unckle king *Edward* the Confessor, with full consent of the whole Realm; the B. of Worcester being sent as Ambassador to fetch him home, with his father named *Edward* the out-law.

Flores hist. Anno 1066.

And since the Conquest, it appeareth plainly in king *Stephen* and king *Henry* the second, both of them borne out of English dominions, and of Parents, that at their birth, were not of the English allegiance; and yet were they both admitted to the Crowne. Yong *Arthur* also Duke of Britain by his mother *Constance* that matched with *Geffray* king *Henry* the seconds sonne, was declared by king *Richard* his unckle, at his departure towards Jerusalem, and by the whole Realme, for lawfull heire apparent to the Crowne of England, though he were borne in Britaine out of English allegiance; and so he was taken and judged by all the world at that day: albeit, after king *Richards* death, his other uncle *Iohn*, most tyrannously took both his kingdome and his life from him. For which notable injustice, he was detested of all men both abroad and at home; & most apparently scourged by God, with grievous and manifold plagues, both upon himself and the Realm, which yeelded to his usurpation. So that by this also it appeareth,

Pol. lib. 15. Flor. hist. 1208.

K. Iohn a tyrant

peareth, what the practice of our Countrey hath beene from time to time in this case of forraine birth: which practice is the best interpreter of our common English law: which dependeth especially, and most of all, upon custome: nor can the adversary alledge any one example to the contrary.

The 6. reason. The iudgement and sentence of K. Henry the seventh.

Their sixt, is of the judgement and sentence of King *Henry* the seventh, and of his Councell: who being together in consultation, at a certaine time about the marriage of *Margaret* his eldest daughter into Scotland: some of his Councell moved this doubt, what should ensue, if by chance the kings issue male should faile, and so the succession devolve to the heyres of the said *Margaret*, as now it doth? Whereunto that wise and most prudent Prince made answer: that if any such event should be, it could not be prejudiciall to England, being the bigger part, but rather beneficiall: for that it should draw Scotland to England: that is, the lesser to the more: even as in times past it happened in Normandy, Aquitaine, and some other Provinces. Which answer appeased all doubts and gave singular content to those of his Councell, as *Polidore* writeth, that lived at that time, and wrote the speciall matters of that reigne, by the kings owne instruction. So that hereby wee see no question made of king *Henry* or his Councellors touching forraine birth, to let the succession of Lady *Margarets* issue: which no doubt would never have beene omitted in that learned assembly, if any law at that time had beene esteemed or imagined to beare the same.

And these are six of their principallest reasons to prove, that neither by the words nor meaning of our common lawes, nor yet by custome or practice of our Realme, an Alien may bee debarred from claim of his interest to the Crowne, when

it

it falleth to him by rightfull descent in blood and succession. But in the particular case of the Queen of Scots and her son, they doe adde another reason or two thereby to prove them in very deed to be no Aliens: Not only in respect of their often and continuall mixture with English blood from the beginning (and especially of late, the Queens Grandmother and husband being English, and so her sonne begotten of an English father) but also for two other causes and reasons, which seeme in truth of very good importance. The first is, for that Scotland by all Englishmen (howsoever the Scots deny the same) is taken and holden as subject to England by way of Homage; which many of their kings at divers times have acknowledged: and consequently the Queene and her son being borne in Scotland are not borne out of the allegiance of England, and so no forrainers. The second cause or reason is, for that the forenamed statute of forrainers in the 25 yeare of King *Edward* the third, is intitled, *of those that are borne beyond the seas.* And in the body of the said statute, the doubt is moved of children borne out of English allegiance beyond the seas: whereby cannot bee understood Scotland, for that it is a piece of the continent land within the seas. And all our old Records in England, that talke of service to bee done within these two countries, have usually these Latin words, *Infra quatuor maria*, or in French *deins les quatre mers*, that is, within the foure Seas: whereby must needs be understood as well Scotland as England, and that perhaps for the reason before mentioned, of the subjection of Scotland by way of Homage to the Crowne of England. In respect whereof it may be, that it was accounted of old but one dominion or allegiance. And consequently, no man borne therein can bee accounted

The 7. reason. The Queene of Scots and her son no Aliens.

counted an alien to England. And this shal suffice for the first point, touching foragine Nativity.

The second impediment against the Q of Scots, & her son, which is K. Henry the 8. his testament.

For the second impediment objected, which is the testament of King *Henry* the eight, authorized by Parliament, wherby they affirm the succession of Scotland to be excluded: it is not precisely true that they are excluded, but onely that they are put back behinde the succession of the hous of *Suffolk*. For in that pretended Testament (which after shall be proved to be none indeed) King *Henry* to disposeth, that after his own children (if they shold chance to dye without issue) the Crowne shall passe to the heires of *Frances* & of *Elenor*, his nieces by his yonger sister *Mary* Queene of France; and after them (deceasing also without issue) the succession to returne to the next heire againe. Wherby it is evident, that the succession of *Margaret* Queene of Scotland, his eldest sister, is not excluded; but thrust back onely from their due place and order, to expect the remainder, which may in time be left by the yonger. Whereof in mine opinion, doe ensue some considerations against the present pretenders themselves.

Forain birth no impediment in the judgement of K. Henry the 8.

First, that in King *Henries* judgement, the former pretended rule of foraine birth, was no sufficient impediment against Scotland; for if it had bin, no doubt but that he would have named the same in his alleaged testament, and thereby have utterly excluded that succession. But there is no such thing in the testament. Secondly, if they admit this testament, which alotteth the Crown to Scotland, next after Suffolk; then, seeing that all the house of Suffolk (by these mens assertions) is excluded by bastardy; it must needs follow, that Scotland by their own judgement is next, & so this testament wil make against them, as indeed it doth in all points most apparantly, but only that it preferreth

The succession of Scotland next by the judgement of the competitors.

ferreth the house of Suffolk, before that of Scotland. And therefore (I think sir) that you mistake somewhat about their opinion in alleaging this testament. For I suppose, that no man of my Lord of *Huntingtons* faction, will alleage or urge the testimony of this testament; but rather some friend of the house of *Suffolk*, in whose favour, I take it, that it was first of all forged.

Gentleman.

It may be (quoth the Gentleman) nor will I stand obstinatly in the contrary; for that it is hard sometime to judge of what faction each one is, who discourseth of these affaires. But yet I marvel (if it were as you say) why *Leycesters* Father after K. *Edwards* death, made no mention therof in the favor of *Suffolk*, in the other testament which then he proclaimed, as made by K. *Edward* deceased, for preferment of *Suffolk* before his own sisters.

Lawyer.

The cause of this is evident (quoth the Lawyer) for that it made not sufficiently for his purpose: which was to disinherit the two daughters of King *Henry* himselfe, and advance the house of *Suffolk* before them both.

The Duke of Northumberlands drift.

Gentleman.

A notable change (quoth the Gentleman) that a title so much exalted of late by the Father, above all order, right, ranke and degree; should now be so much debased by the Son, as though it were not worthy to hold any degree, but rather to be troden under-foot for plain bastardy. And you see by this, how true it is which I told you before; that the race of *Dudlies* are most cunning merchants, to make their gaine of all things, men and times. And as we have seene now two testaments alleaged, the one of the Kings father, and the other of the kings sonne, and both of them in prejudice of the testators true successors: so many good subjects begin greatly to fear, that we may chance

The mutable dealing of the house of Dudley.

to

to see shortly a third Testament of her Majesty for the tituling of *Huntington*, and extirpation of King *Henries* blood, & that before her Majesty can think of sickness: wherein I beseech the Lord I be no Prophet. But now, sir, to the foresaid Will and Testament of King *Henry*, I have often heard in truth, that the thing was counterfeit, or at the least not able to be proved: and that it was discovered, rejected, and defaced in Queen *Maries* time: but I would gladly understand what you Lawyers esteeme or judge thereof.

Lawyer.

The authority and occasion of King Henries testament.

Touching this matter (quoth the Lawyer) it cannot be denied, but that in the 28. and 36 yeans of King *Henries* reign, upon consideration of some doubt and irresolution, which the King himselfe had shewed, to have about the order of succession in his owne children, as also for taking away all occasions of controversies in those of the next blood; the whole Parliament gave authority unto the said King, to debate and determine those matters himselfe, together with his learned councell, who best knew the lawes of the Realme, and titles that any man might have thereby: and that whatsoever succession his Majesty should declare as most right and lawfull under his letters patents sealed, or by his last Will and Testament rightfully made and signed with his owne hand: that the same should bee received for good and lawfull. Upon pretence whereof, soon after King *Henries* death, there was shewed a Will with the kings stamp at the same, and the names of divers witnesses, wherein (as hath beene said) the succession of the Crowne, after the kings owne children, is assigned to the heyres of *Frances* and *Elenore*, Neeces to the king, by his younger Sister. Which assignation of the Crown, being as it were a meer gift in prejudice of

of the elder ſiſters right (as alſo of the right of *Frances* and *Elenor* themſelves who were omitted in the ſame aſſignation, and their heires intituled onely) was eſteemed to be againſt all reaſon, law, and nature, and conſequently not thought to proceed from ſo wiſe and ſage a Prince as K. *Henrie* was knowne to be: but rather, either the whole forged, or at leaſt wiſe that clauſe inſerted by other, and the Kings ſtamp ſet unto it, after his death, or when his Majeſty lay now paſt underſtanding. And hereof there wanteth not divers moſt evident reaſons and proofes. *The Kings Teſtament forged.*

For firſt, it is not probable nor credible, that King *Henrie* would ever go about, againſt law and reaſon, to diſinherit the line of his eldeſt ſiſter, without any profit or intereſt to himſelfe: and thereby, give moſt evident occaſion of Civill war and diſcord within the Realm, ſeeing, that in ſuch a caſe of manifeſt and apparent wrong, in ſo great a matter, the authoritie of Parlament, taketh little effect, againſt the true and lawfull inheritor: as well appeared in the former times and contentions of *Henrie* the ſixth, *Edward* the fourth, and *Richard* the third: in whoſe reignes, the divers and contrarie Parliaments made and holden, againſt the next inheritor, held no longer with any man, then untill the other was able to make his owne partie good. *The firſt reaſon.* *Injuſtice and improbability*

So likewiſe, in the caſe of King *Edward* the third his ſucceſſion to *France*, in the right of his mother, though he were excluded by the generall aſſembly and conſent of their Parliaments 3 yet he eſteemed not his right extinguiſhed thereby: as neither did other Kings of our Countrie that enſued after him. And for our preſent caſe, if nothing elſe ſhould have reſtrained King *Henrie*, *The example of France.*

from such open injustice towards his eldest sister: yet this cogitation, at least, would have stayed him: that by giving example of supplanting his elder sisters Line, by vertue of a testament or pretence of Parliament; some other might take occasion to displace his children by like pretence: as we see that Duke *Dudley* did soone after by a forged testament of King *Edward* the sixt. So ready Schollars there are to be found, which easily will learne such lessons of iniquity.

The second reason. Incongruities and indignities.

Secondly, there be too many incongruities and indignities in the said pretended Will to proceed from such a Prince and learned councell as King *Henries* was. For first, what can be more ridiculous, than to give the Crowne to the heires of *Francis* and *Elenor*, and not to any of themselves? or what had they offended that their heires should enjoy the Crowne in their right, and not they themselves? What if King *Henries* Children should have dyed, whiles Lady *Francis* had been yet alive? who should have possessed the Kingdome before her, seeing her Line was next? and yet by this testament shee could not pretend her selfe to obtaine it. But rather having marryed *Adrian Stokes* her horse-keeper, she must have suffered her sonne by him (if she had any) to enjoy the Crown: and so *Adrian* of a Serving man and Master of Horses, should have become the great Master and Protector of *England*. Of like absurditie is that other clause also, wherein the King bindeth his owne daughters to marry by consent and direction of his counsell, or otherwise to leese the benefit of their succession: yet bindeth not his Neices daughters, to wit, the daughters of *Francis* & *Elenor* (if they had any) to any such condition.

Adrian Stokes.

Thirdly, there may bee divers causes and arguments

guments alledged in law, why this pretended will is not authenticall: if otherwiſe, it were certaine that King *Henrie* had meant it: firſt, for that it is not agreeable to the mind and meaning of the Parliament, which intended onely to give authoritie for declaration and explication of the true title: and not for donation, or intricating of the ſame, to the ruine of the Realme. Secondly, for that there is no lawfull and authenticall Copie extant thereof, but onely a bare inrolement in the Chancerie, which is not ſufficient in ſo weighty an affaire: no witneſſe of the privie Councell or of Nobilitie to the ſame: which had been convenient in ſo great a caſe (for the beſt of the witneſſes therein named, is Sir *Iohn Gates*, whoſe miſerable death is well knowne:) no publike Notary, no probation of the will before any Biſhop, or any lawfull Court for that purpoſe: no examination of the witneſſes, or other thing orderly done, for lawfull authorizing of the matter.

The third reaſon.

The preſuppoſed Will is not authenticall.

But of all other things this is moſt of importance: that the King never ſet his owne hand to the foreſaid Will, but his ſtampe was put thereunto by others, either after his death, or when he was paſt remembrance: as the late Lord *Paget* in the beginning of Queen *Maries* dayes, being of the Privie Councell, firſt of all other diſcovered the ſame of his owne accord, and upon meere motion of conſcience, confeſſing before the whole Councell, and afterward alſo before the whole Parlament, how that himſelfe was privy thereunto, and partly alſo culpable, (being drawn thereunto, by the inſtigation and forcible authority of others:) but yet afterward upon other more godly motions deteſted the device: and ſo of his owne free-will, very honourably went and offered the

The diſproving of the Will by witneſſes. The Lord Paget.

sir Edw. Montague

discoverie thereof to the Councell. As also did Sir *Edward Montague*, Lord chiefe Iustice that had been privy and present at the said doings, and one

William Clarke.

William Clarke, that was the man who put the stampe unto the paper, and is ascribed among the other pretensed witnesses, confessed the whole premisses to be true, and purchased his pardon for his offence therein. Whereupon Queen *Marie* and her Councell, caused presently the said Inrolement, lying in the Chancerie to be cancelled, defaced and abolished.

A meeting together about this matter of the Nobility.

And sithence that time in her Majesties dayes that now liveth, about the 11. or 12. yeare of her reigne, (if I count not amisse) by occasion of a certaine little booke spread abroad at that time very secretly, for advancing of the house of *Suffolke*, by pretence of this Testament: I remember well the place where the late Duke of *Norfolke*, the Marquesse of *Winchester* (which then was Treasurer) the old Earles of *Arundell* and *Penbrooke* that now are dead, with my Lord of *Penbrook* that yet liveth, (as also my Lord of *Leycester* himselfe, if I bee not deceived) with divers others, met together upon this matter: and after long conference about the foresaid pretensed will, and many proofes and reasons laid downe, why it could not be true or authenticall: the old Earle of *Penbrook* protesting that he was with the King in his chamber from the first day of his sicknesse unto his last houre, and thereby could well assure the falsification thereof: at length it was moved, that from that place they should goe, with the rest of the Nobility, and proclaime the Queen of *Scotland* heire apparent in *Cheap-side*. Wherein my Lord of *Leycester* (as I take it was then as forward as any man elsse: how bee it, now for his

My Lord of Leicest. againe playeth double.

profi

profit, he be turned aſide, and would turne back again to morrow next for a greater commodity.

And albeit, for ſome cauſes to themſelves beſt known, they proceeded not in the open publiſhing of their determination at that time: yet my Lord of *Penbrook* now living can beare witneſſe that thus much is true: and that his father, the old Earle, at that time told him openly before the other Noblemen, that he had brought him to that aſſembly and place to inſtruct him in that truth, and to charge him to witneſſe the ſame, and to defend it alſo with his ſword (if need required) after his death. And I know that his Lordſhip is of that honour and Nobility, as he cannot leave off eaſily the remembrance or due regard of ſo worthy an admonition. And this ſhall ſuffice for the ſecond impediment, imagined to proceed of this ſuppoſed Teſtament of King *Henrie* the eighth.

The old Earle of Penbrooks *admonition to the Earl his ſon, yet living.*

As for the third impediment, of religion, it is not generall to all: for that only one perſon (if I be not deceived) of all the Competitors in K. *Henries* Line can bee touched with ſuſpition of different Religion, from the preſent ſtate of *England*. Which perſon notwithſtanding (as is well knowne) while ſhee was in government in her owne Realme of *Scotland*, permitted all liberty of Conſcience, and free exerciſe of Religion to thoſe of the contrary profeſſion and opinion, without reſtraint. And if ſhe had not, yet doe I not ſee, either by preſcript of law, or practiſe of theſe our times, that diverſity of Religion may ſtay juſt Inheritors from enjoying their due poſſeſſions, in any ſtate or degree of private men: and much leſſe in the claime of a Kingdome: which alwayes in this behalfe as hath been ſaid before) is preferred in priviledge.

The third impediment of religion.

Princes of Germany. This we see by experience, in divers Countries and parts of the world at this day: as in *Germany*, where among so many Princes, and so divided in religion as they be: yet every one succeedeth to the state whereto he hath right, without resistance for his religion. The examples also of her Majesty that now is, and of her sister before, is evident, who being known to be of two different inclinations in religion, and the whole Realme divided in opinion for the same cause: yet both of them at their severall times with generall consent of all, were admitted to their lawfull inheritance: excepting onely a few * traitors against the former, who withstood her right, as also in her the right of her Maiestie that is present, and that not for Religion, (as appeared by their owne confession after) but for ambition and desire of reigne, Monsieur, the Kings brother and heire of *France*, as all the world knoweth, is well accepted, favoured, and admitted for successor of that Crowne, by all the Protestants at this day of that Country, notwithstanding his opinion in religion knowne to be different. And I doubt not, but the King of *Navarre* or Prince of *Condy*, in the contrary part would thinke themselves greatly injured by the state of *France*, which is different from them in religion at this day, if after the death of the King that now is, and his brother without issue, (if God so dispose) they should be barred from inheriting the Crowne, under pretence onely of their Religion. My Lord of *Huntington* himselfe also, is he not knowne to be of a different religion from the present state of *England*? and that, if he were King to morrow next, he would alter the whole government, order, condition, and state of religion, now used and established within the Realme?

Qu. Mary Queen Elizabeth.

**The* Dudleis *Monsieur.*

King of Navarre *prince of* Condy.

My Lord of Huntingtons *religion.*

But

But as I said in the beginning, if one of a whole family, or of divers families be culpable, or to be touched herein; what have the rest offended thereby? will you exclude all, for the mislike of one? And to descend in order; if the first in K. *Henries* line, after her Majesty may be touched in this point, yet why should the rest be damnified thereby? The K of *Scotland* her son, that next ensueth (to speak in equity) why should he bee shut out for his religion? And are not all the other in like manner Protestants, whose discent is consequent by nature, order, and degree.

The title of those that ensue the Queene of Scots.

For the yong K. *of* Scotland (quoth I) *the truth is, that always for mine own part, I have had great hope and expectation of him, not onely for the conceipt which commonly men have of such Orient youths, borne to kingdomes; but especially for that I understood from time to time, that his education was in all learning, princely exercises, and instruction of true religion, under rare and vertuous men for that purpose. Whereby I conceived hope, that he might not onely become in time an honourable and profitable neighbour unto us, for assurance of the Gospell in these parts of the world; but also (if God should deprive us of her Maiesty without issue) might be a meane by his succession to unite in Concord and Government the two Realmes together, which heretofore hath beene sought by the price of many a thousand mens bloud, and not obtained.*

Schollar. *The yong King of* Scotland

Marry yet now of late (I know not by what means) there is begun in mens hearts a certaine mislike or grudge against him, for that it is given out every where that he is inclined to be a Papist, and an enemy to her Majesties proceedings, which argueth him verily of singular ingratitude

if it be true, considering the great helpes and protection which he hath received from her Highnes ever sithens he was borne.

Gentl. And are you so simple (quoth the Gentleman) as to beleeve everie report that you heare of this matter? know you not, that it is expedient for my Lord of *Leycester* and his faction, that this youth, above all other, bee held in perpetuall disgrace with her Majesty, and with this Realme? You know, that *Richard* of *Glouceſter* had never been able to have usurped as he did, if hee had not first perswaded K. *Edward* the fourth, to hate his owne brother the Duke of *Clarence*, which Duke stood in the way between *Richard* and the thing, which he most of all things coveted: that is, the possibilitie to the Crowne, and so in this case is there the like device to be observed.

The device to set out her Majesty with the young King of Scotland.

For truly, for the yong King of *Scotlands* religion, it is evident to as many as have reason, that it can bee no other of it selfe but inclined to the best; both in respect of his education, instruction, and conversation with those of true religion: as also by his former actions, Edicts, Government, and private behaviour he hath declared. Marrie these men whose profit is nothing lesse, than that he or any other of that race should doe well: doe not cease dayly by all secret wayes, drifts, and molestations possible, to drive him either to mislike of our religion, or else to incurre the suspition thereof, with such of our Realme, as otherwise would be his best friends: or if not this, yet for very need and feare of his owne life, to make recourse to such other Princes abroad, as may most offend or mislike this state.

And for this cause, they suborne certaine busie fellowes of their owne crew and faction, pertaining

taining to the miniſterie of *Scotland*, (but unworthy of ſo worthy a calling) to uſe ſuch insolencie towards their King and Prince, as is not onely undecent, but intolerable. For he may doe nothing, but they will examine and diſcuſſe the ſame in Pulpit. If hee goe but on hunting, when it pleaſeth them to call him to their preaching: if he make but a dinner or ſupper, when, or where, or with whom they like not: if he receive but a couple of horſes, or other preſent from his friends or kinſemen beyond the ſeas: if hee ſalute or uſe courteouſly any man, or meſſenger which commeth from them (as you know Princes of their nobility and courteſie are accuſtomed, though they come from their enemies, as very often hath beene ſeene, and highly commended in her Majeſtie of *England*:) If hee deale familiarly with any Ambaſſador which liketh not them: or finally, if hee doe ſay or ſignifie any one thing whatſoever that pleaſeth not their humour, they wil preſently as ſeditious Tribunes of the people, exclaime in publicke, and ſtepping to the Pulpit where the Word of the Lord onely ought to be preached, will excite the Communalty to diſcontentation, inveying againſt their Soveraigne with ſuch bitternes of ſpeech, unreverend tearmes, and inſolent controlements, as is not to be ſpoken: Now imagine what her Majeſty and her grave councell would do in *England*, if ſuch proceedings ſhould be uſed by the Clergy againſt them.

The intolerable proceedings of certaine Miniſters in Scotland against their King, by ſubornation of his enemies in Englad.

(No doubt (quoth I) but that ſuch unquiet ſpirits ſhould be puniſhed in our Realme. And ſo I ſaid of late to their moſt reverend and worthy Prelate and Primate the Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews*, with whom it was my luck to come acquainted in *London*, whither he was come by his Kings appoyntment

Schollar.

Sir Patrick Adamſon *Archbiſh. of St.* Andrewes.

pointment (as he said) to treat certain affairs with our Q. and Councell. And talking with him of this disorder of his ministerie, he confessed the same with much griefe of mind, and told me, that he had preached thereof before the K. himselfe, detesting and accusing divers heads therof, for which cause he was become very odious to them and other of their faction, both in *Scotland* and *England*. But he said, that as he had given the reasons of his doings unto our Qu. so meaneth he shortly to do the same unto *Monsieur Beza*, and to the whole Church of *Geneva*, by sending thither the Articles of his and their doings, protesting unto me that the proceedings and attempts of those factious and corrupt men was most scandalous, seditious and perilous both to the K. person, and to the realm; being sufficient indeed, to alienate wholy the yong Prince from all affection to our religion, when he shall see the chiefe Professors thereof to behave themselves so undutifully towards him.

Gentl. *Treasons plotted against the King of* Scots.

That is the thing which these men, his competitors, most desire (*quoth the Gentleman*) hoping thereby to procure him most evill will and danger, both at home and from *England*. For which cause also, they have practised so many plots and treacheries with his owne subjects against him; hoping by that meanes to bring the one in distrust and hatred of the other, and consequently the K. in danger of destruction by his own. And in this machination, they have behaved themselves so dexterously, so covertly used the manage and contriving hereof, and so cunningly conveyed the execution of many things: as it might, indeed, seem apparent to the yong K. that the whole plot of treasons against his Realme,

and

and Perſon, doth come from *England*, thereby to drive him into jealouſie of our ſtate, and our ſtate of him: and all this for their owne profit.

Neither is this any new device of my Lord of *Leiceſt* to draw men for his own gain into danger and hatred with the ſtate, under other pretences. For I could tell you divers ſtories and ſtratagems of his cunning in this kind, and the one farre different from the other in device: but yet all to one end. *I have a friend yet living, that was towards the old Earle of* Arundel *in good credit, and by that means had occaſion to deal with the late Duke of* Norfolk *in his chiefeſt affaires before his troubles. This man is wont to report ſtrange things from the Dukes owne mouth, of my L. of* Leiceſters *moſt treacherous dealing towards him, for gaining of his bloud, as after appeared, albeit the Duke when he rep rted the ſame, miſtruſted not ſo much my Lords malice therein.* But the ſum of all, is this in effect: that *Leiceſter* having a ſecret deſire to pull down the ſaid Duke, to the end that he might have no man above himſelfe, to hinder him in that which he moſt deſireth, by a thouſand cunning devices drew in the Duke to the cogitation of that marriage with the Queen of *Scotland*, which afterward was the cauſe or occaſion of his ruine. And hee behaved himſelfe ſo dexterouſly in this drift, by ſetting on the Duke on the one ſide, and alſo by intrapping him on the other: as *Iudas* himſelfe never plaid his part more cunningly when hee ſupped with his Maſter, and ſet himſelf ſo neer, as he dipt his ſpoon in the ſame diſh, & durſt before others, aske who ſhould betray him? meaning that night to doe it himſelfe, as he ſhewed ſoon after ſupper, when he came as a Captaine with

Leyceſters cunning device for overthrowing the D. of Norf.

The impudency of Iudas.

with a band of Conſpirators, and with a courteous kiſſe delivered his perſon into the hands of them, whom hee well knew to thirſt after his bloud.

The very like did the Earle of *Leyceſter* with the Duke of *Norfolk* for the act of treaſon, though in the parties betrayed there were great difference of innocency. Namely, at one time, when her Majeſty was at *Baſing* in *Hampſhire*, and the Duke attended there to have audience, with great indifferency in himſelfe to follow, or leave off his ſuit for marriage: (for that now he began to ſuſpect, her Majeſty liked not greatly thereof:) my Lord of *Leyceſter* came to him and counſelled him in any caſe to perſevere, and not to relent, aſſuring him with many oathes and proteſtations, that her Majeſty muſt and ſhould be brought to allow thereof, whether ſhe would or no, and that himſelfe would ſeale that purpoſe with his blood. Neither was it to be ſuffered that her Majeſty ſhould have her will herein; with many other like ſpeeches to this purpoſe: which the Duke repeated againe then preſently to my ſaid friend: with often laying his hand upon his boſome and ſaying; I have here which aſſureth me ſufficiently of the fidelity of my Lord of *Leyceſter*; meaning not onely the foreſaid ſpeeches, but alſo divers letters which he had written to the Duke of that effect, as likewiſe he had done to ſome other perſon of more importance in the Realme; which matter comming afterward to light, he couſened moſt notably her Majeſty, by ſhewing her a reformed copie of the ſaid Letter, for the Letter it ſelfe.

The ſpeeches of Leyceſter to the Duke of Norf.

Leyceſt. couſenage of the Queene.

But now how well he performed his promiſe, in dealing with her Majeſty for the Duke or againſt the

the Duke in this matter, her Highneſſe can beſt tell, and the event it ſelfe ſhewed. For the Duke being admitted ſoon after to her Majeſties ſpeech at another place, and receiving a farre other anſwer than he had in hops conceived upon *Leyceſters* promiſes, retyred himſelfe to *London*, where the ſame night following hee received Letters both from *Leyceſter*, and *Sir Nicholas Throgmorton*, upon *Leyceſters* inſtigation (for they were at that time both friends and of a faction) that he ſhould preſently flye into *Norfolk*, as he did, which was the laſt and finall complement of all *Leyceſt.* former devices, whereby to plunge his friend over the eares in ſuſpition and diſgrace, in ſuch ſort as he ſhould never be able to draw himſelfe out of the ditch againe, as indeed he was not, but dyed in the ſame.

The Duke of Norf. flying into Norfolke

And herein you ſee alſo the ſame ſubtile and Machivilian ſlight, which I mentioned before, of driving men to attempt ſomewhat, whereby they may incurre danger, or remaine in perpetuall ſuſpition or diſgrace. And this practice hath long uſed, and doth dayly, againſt ſuch as he hath will to deſtroy. As for example, what ſay you to the device he had of late, to intrap his well deſerving friend, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, in the matter of *Hall* his Prieſt, whom hee would have had Sir *Chriſtopher* to ſend away and hide, being touched and detected in the caſe of *Ardent*, thereby to have drawne in Sir *Chriſtopher* himſelfe, as Sir *Charles Candiſh* can well declare, if it pleaſe him, being acceſſary to this plot, for the overthrow of Sir *Chriſtopher*: To which intent, and moſt deviliſh driſt, pertained (I doubt not) if the matter were duely examined, the late interception of letters in *Paris* from one *Aldred* of *Lyons*, then in *Rome*,

Machivilian ſlights

Leyceſters *devices for the overthrow of* Sir Chriſtopher Hatton.

Rome, to *Henr. Umpton*, servant to Sir *Christopher*, in which letters, Sir *Christopher* is reported to be of such credit and speciall favour in *Rome*, as if he were the greatest Papist in *England*.

Leycesters *devices against the Earle of* Shrewsbury.

What meaneth also these pernitious late dealings against the Earle of *Shrewsburie*, a man of the most ancient and worthiest Nobilitie of our Realm? what meane the practises with his nearest both in bed and bloud against him? what meane those most false and slanderous rumours cast abroad of late of his disloyall demeanours towards her Maiesty and his countrey, with the great prisoner committed to his charge? is all this to any other end, but onely to drive him to some impatience, and thereby to commit or say something which may open the gate unto his ruine? Divers other things could I recite of his behaviour towards other noble men of the Realm, who live abroad in their countries much injured and malecontented by his insolency: albeit in respect of his present power they dare not complaine. And surely, it is strange to see how little account he maketh of all the ancient nobilitie of our Realme: how he contemneth, derideth and debaseth them; which is the fashion of all such as mean to usurp, to the end they may have none who shall not acknowledge their first beginning and advancement from themselves.

Leycesters *contempt of the ancient Nobility of* England.

Lawyer.

Not only usurpers (*quoth the Lawyer*) but all others who rise and mount aloft from base lynage, be ordinarily most *contemptuous*, *contumultuous*, and *insolent* against others of more antiquity. And this was evident in this mans father, who being a Buck of the first head (*as you know*) was intollerable in contempt of others; as appeareth by those whom hee trod downe of the Nobili-

New men most contemptuous.

Nobilitie in his time: as also by his ordinarie jests against the Duke of *Somerset* and others. But among other times, sitting one day at his owne table (as a Counsellor told mee that was present) he took occasion to talke of the Earl of *Arundel*, whom he had then not onely removed from the Counsell, but also put into the Tower of *London*, being (as is wel known) the first and chiefest Earle of the Realme. And for that the said Earle shewed himselfe somewhat sad and afflicted with his present state (as I marvel not, seing himself in prison, and within the compasse of so fierce a Beares paws) it pleased this goodly Duke to vaunt upon this Earles misery, at his owne Table (as I have said) and asked the noble men and gentlemen there present, what Crest or Cognizance my L. of *Arundel* did give? and when every one answered, that hee gave the white horse: I thought so (quoth the Duke) and not without great cause; for as the white Paul-frey when he standeth in the stable, and is well provendred, is proud and fierce, and ready to leape on every other horses back, still neying, and prauncing, and troubling all that stand about him: but when he is once out of his hot stable, and deprived a little of his ease and fat feeding, every boy may ride and master him at his pleasure: so is it (quoth he) with my Lord of *Arundell*. Whereat many marvelled that were present, to heare so insolent speech passe from a man of judgement, against a Peere of the Realme cast into calamity. D. Dudlies *jest at the Earle of* Arundell.

But you would more have marvelled (quoth the Gentleman) if you had seene that which I did afterward, which was the most base and abject behaviour of the same Duke to the same Gentl.

Earle

The oſt abiect behaviour of Duke Dudley *in adverſe fortunes.*

Earle of *Arundel* at *Cambridge*, and upon the way towards *London*: when this Earle was ſent to apprehend and bring him up, as priſoner. If I ſhould tell you how he fell down on his knees, how he wept, how he beſought the ſaid Earle to be a good Lord unto him, whom a little before he had ſo much contemned and reproached, you would have ſaid that himſelfe might as well be compared to this his white Paulfrey, as the other: Albeit in this I will excuſe neither of them both, neither almoſt any of theſe great men who are ſo proud and inſolent in their proſperous fortune, as they are eaſily led to contemne any man, albeit themſelves bee moſt contemptible of all others, whenſoever their fortune beginneth to change: and ſo will my L. of *Leiceſter* be, alſo no doubt at that day, though now in his wealth he triumph over all, and careth not whom, or how many he offend and injure.

Schollar.

Sir, therein I beleeve you (quoth I) for wee have had ſufficient tryall already of my Lords fortitude in adverſity. His baſe and abject behaviour in his laſt diſgrace about his marriage, well declared what hee would doe in a matter of more importance His fawning and flattering of them, whom he hated moſt: his ſervile ſpeeches, his feigned and diſſembled teares, are all very well knowne: Then Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* muſt needs be enforced to receive at his hands the honourable and great office of Chamberlainſhip of *Cheſter*, for that he would by any meanes reſigne the ſame unto him, whether he would or no: and made him provide (not without his charge) to receive the ſame, though his Lordſhip never meant it, as after wel appeared. For that the preſent pange being paſt,

Leyceſters *baſe behaviour in adverſitie.*

Leyceſters *deceiving of Sir* Chriſtopher Hatton.

it

it liked my Lord to fulfill the Italian Proverbe, of such as in dangers make vowes to Saints: *Scampato il pericolo, gabbato il santo*, the danger escaped, the Saint is deceived.

Then, and in that necessity, no men of the Realm were so much honoured, commended, & served by him as the noble Chamberlaine deceased, and the good Lord Treasurer yet living: to whom, at a certaine time, he wrote a letter in all fraud and base dissimulation, and caused the same to be delivered with great cunning in the sight of her Majesty; and yet so, as to shew a purpose that it should not be seen: to the end, her Highnesse might rather take occasion to call for the same and read it, as she did. For Mistris *Francis Haward* (to whom the stratagem was committed) playing her part dexterously, offered to deliver the same to the Lord Treasurer, neare the doore of the withdrawing Chamber, he then comming from her Majesty: And to draw the eye and attention of her Highnesse the more unto it, shee let fall the paper, before it touched the treasurers hand, and by that occasion brought her Majesty to call for the same: Which after she had read and considered the stile, together with the metall and constitution of him that wrote it, and to whom it was sent, her Highnesse could not but breake forth in laughter, with detestation of such absurd and abject dissimulation: saying unto my Lord Treasurer there present: my Lord believe him not, for if he had you in like case, he would play the Beare with you, though at this present hee fawne upon you never so fast.

A pretie shift of my Lord of Leycester.

Her Maiesties speech of Leycester to the Treasurer.

But now Sir, I pray you goe forward in your speech of *Scotland*, for there I remember you

left off, when by occasion we fell into these digressions.

Gentl. Well then (quoth the Gentleman) to returne againe to *Scotland* (as you move) from whence wee have digressed: most certaine and evident it is to all the world, that all the broyles, troubles, and dangers procured to the Prince in that countrey, as also the vexations of them, who any way are thought to favour that title in our owne Realme, doe proceed from the drift and complot of these conspirators. Which besides the great dangers mentioned before, both domesticall and forraine, temporall, and of religion, must needs inferre great jeopardy also to her Maiesties person and present reign, that now governeth, through the hope and heat of the aspirers ambition, inflamed and increased so much the more by the neareneſſe of their desired prey.

The danger of her Majesty by oppression of the favourers of the Scottish *title.*

For as souldiers entred into the hope of a rich and well furnished Citie, are more fierce and furious, when they have gotten and beaten downe the Bullwarks round about: and as the greedy Burglarer that hath pierced and broken downe mans walls to come to a treasure, is lesse patient of stay, stop, and delay, when he commeth in sight of that which he desireth, or perceiveth only some partition of wane skot or the like betwixt his fingers, and the cofers or monie bags: so these men when they shall see the succession of *Scotland* extinguished, together with all friends and favourers thereof, (which now are to her Majesty as Bullwarks and wals, and great obstacles to the aspirors) and when they shall see onely her Maiesties life and person, to stand betwixt them and their fierie desires (for they

A Similie true.

make

make little account of all other Competitors by King *Henries* line:) no doubt but it will bee to them a great prick and spurre to dispatch Her Majestie also: the nature of both Earles being well considered, whereof the one killed his own wife, (as hath been shewed before) onely upon a little vaine hope of marriage with a Queene, and the other being so farre blinded and borne away with the same furious fume, & most impotent itching humor of ambition, as his owne mother, when she was alive, seemed greatly to feare his fingers, if once the matter should come so neare, as her life had onely stood in his way. For which cause, the good old Countesse was wont to pray God (as I have heard divers say) that she might dye before her Majesty (which happily was granted unto her) to the end that by standing in her sonnes way (who she saw to her grief, furiously bent to weare a Crown:) there might not some dangerous extremity grow to her by that neareneſse: And if his owne mother feared this mischance, what may her Majesty doubt at his, & his companions hands, when she onely shall be the obstacle of all their unbridled and impatient desires?

Earle of Leycester.

Earle of Huntington.

The old Countesse of Huntingtons speech of her sonne.

Cleare it is (quoth the Lawyer) that the neareneſse of aspirors to the Crowne, endangereth greatly the present possessors, as you have well proved by reason, and I could shew by divers examples, if it were need. For when *Henrie Bullingbrooke*, Duke of *Lancaster*, saw not onely *Richard* the second to be without issue, but also *Roger Mortimer*, Earle of *March*, that should have succeeded in the Crowne, to bee slaine in *Ireland*: though before (as is thought) he meant not to usurpe, yet seeing the possibility and

Lawyer.

Neareneſse in competitors doth incite them to adventure.

Henr. Bullingbrook after King H. the 4

Richard *Duke of* Glouceſter *after King* Richard *the third.*

neare cut that he had, was inuited therewith to lay hands of his Soveraignes blond and dignity as he did. The like is thought of *Richard*, Duke of *Gloceſter*, that he never meant the murther of his nephewes, untill he ſaw their father dead, and themſelves in his owne hands; his brother alſo Duke of *Clarence* diſpatched, and his onely ſonne and heire Earle of *Warwick* within his owne power.

The great wiſedome of her Majeſtyin conſerving the next heires of Scotland.

Wherefore ſeeing that it hath not pleaſed Almighty God, for cauſes to himſelfe beſt known, to leave unto this noble Realm, any iſſue by her moſt excellent Maieſtie, it hath been a poynt of great wiſedome in mine opinion, and of great ſafety to her Highnes perſon, ſtate, & dignity, to preſerve hitherto the line of the next Inheritors by the houſe of *Scotland*, (I meane both the mother and the ſonne) whoſe deaths hath been ſo diligently ſought by the other Competitors, and had beene long ere this atchieved, if her Majeſties owne wiſedome, and royall clemency (as is thought) had not placed ſpeciall eye upon the conſervation thereof, from time to time. Which Princely providence, ſo long as it ſhall endure, muſt needs be a great ſafety and fortreſſ to her Majeſty, not onely againſt the claimes, aides, or annoyance of forraine Princes, who will not be ſo forward to advance ſtrange titles, while ſo manifeſt heires remain at home, nor yet ſo willing (in reſpect of policy) to helpe that line to poſſeſſion of the whole Iſland: but alſo againſt practices of domeſticall aſpirers (as you have ſhewed) in whoſe affairs no doubt but theſe two branches of *Scotland* are great blocks, as alſo ſpeciall bulwarks to her Majeſties life and perſon: ſeeing (as you ſay) theſe copartners make

ſo

so little account of the other of that line, who should ensue by order of succession.

Marry yet of the two, I thinke the youth of *Scotland* be of much more importance for their purpose, to bee made away, both for that hee may have issue, and is like in time to be of more ability, for defence of his owne inheritance: as also for that he being once dispatched, his mother should soone ensue by one slight or other, which they would devise unwitting to her Majesty: albeit, I must needes confesse that her Highnesse hath used most singular prudence for prevention thereof, in placing her restraint with so noble, strong, and worthy a Peere of our Realme, as the Earle of *Shrewsburie* is, whose fidelity and constancy being nothing plyable to the others faction, giveth them little contentation. And for that cause the world seeth how many sundry and divers devices they have used, and do use dayly to slander and disgrace him, and thereby to pull from him his charge committed

The K. of Scotlands destruction of moreimportance to the conspirators, then his mothers

The Earle of Salisbury disgraced by the competitors.

To this the Gentleman answered nothing at all, but stood still musing with himselfe, as though hee had conceived some deep matter in his head: and after a little pause he began to say as followeth

Gent.

I cannot truly but much marvaile, when I do compare some things of this time and government, with the doings of former Princes, Progenitors to her Majesty. Namely of *Henrie* the 7. and *Henrie* the 8. who had so vigilant an eye to the laterall line of King *Edward* the 4. by his brother of *Clarence*, as they thought it necessary, not only to prevent all evident dangers that might ensue that way, but even the possibilities of all perill: as may well appear by the execution of *Ed.* Earl of *Warwick* before named

The vigilant eye that her Majesties ancestors had to the collaterall line.

Son and heire to the said Duke of *Clarence*, and of *Margaret* his sister Countesse of *Salisbury*, with the Lord *Henry Montague* her sonne, by whose Daughter the Earle of *Huntington* now claimeth. All which were executed for avoyding of inconveniencies, and that at such times, when no imminent danger could be much doubted by that Line, especially by the latter. And yet now when one of the same house and Line, of more ability and ambition, than ever any of his Ancestors were, maketh open title and claime to the Crowne, with plots, packs, and preparations to most manifest usurpation, against all order, all law, and all rightfull succession: and against a special statute provided in that behalfe: yet is he permitted, borne out, favoured, and friended therein: and no man so hardy, as in defence of her Majestie and the Realme to controlle him for the same.

Persons executed of the house of Clarence

It may be that her Majestie is brought into the same opinion of my Lord of *Huntington*: fidelity, as *Iulius Cæsar* was of *Marcus Brutus*, his dearest obliged friend: of whose ambitious practises, and aspiring, when *Cæsar* was advertised by his carefull friends; he answered, that hee well knew *Brutus* to be ambitious, but I am sure (quoth he) that my *Brutus* will never attempt any thing for the Empire while *Cæsar* liveth; and after my death let him shift for the same among others, as he can. But what ensued? Surely I am loath to tell the event for ominations sake, but yet all the world knoweth that ere many moneths passed, this most noble and Clement Emperour was pittifully murthered by the same *Brutus* and his partners in the publique Senate, when least of all he expected such

The example of Iulius Cæsars destruction.

such treason. So dangerous a thing it is to be secure in a matter of so great sequell, or to trust them with a mans life, who may pretend preferment or interest by his death.

Wherefore, would God her Majestie in this case might be induced to have such due care and regard of her own estate and royall person, as the weighty moment of the matter requireth: which containeth the blisse and calamity of so noble and worthy a kingdome as this.

Too much confidence verie perilous in a Prince.

I know right well, that most excellent natures are alwayes furthest off from diffidence in such people as proves love, and are most bounden by dutie: and so it is evident in her Majestie. But yet surely, this confidence so commendable in other men, is scarce allowable oftentimes in the person of a Prince: for that it goeth accompanyed with so great perill, as is inevitable to him that will not suspect principally when dangers are foretold or presaged, (as commonly by Gods appoyntment they are, for the speciall hand he holdeth over Princes affaires) or when there is probable conjecture, or just surmise of the same.

We know that the forenamed Emperor *Cæsar*, had not onely the warning given him of the inclination and intent of *Brutus* to usurpation, but even the very day when hee was going towards the place of his appoynted destiny, there was given up into his hands a detection of the whole treason, with request to read the same presently, which he upon confidence omitted to doe. Wee read also of *Alexander* the great, how hee was not onely forbidden by a learned man to enter into *Babylon* (whither he was then going) for that there was treason meant against him in the place, but also that he was foretold of *Antipaters* mis-

The example of Alexander the great, how hee was foretold his danger.

chievous meaning against him in particular. But the yong Prince having so well deserved of *Antipater*, could not be brought to mist ust the man that was so deare unto him: and by that meanes was poysoned in a banquet by three sons of *Antipater*, which were of most credit and confidence in the Kings Chamber.

Schollar. Here, truly, my heart did somewhat tremble with feare, horror, and detestation of such events. And I said unto the Gentleman: I beseech you Sir, to talke no more of these matters; for I cannot well abide to heare them named: hoping in the Lord that there is no cause, nor ever shall be, to doubt the like in *England*: especially from these men, who are so much bound to her Majesty, and so forward in seeking out, and pursuing all such as may be thought to be dangerous to her Majesties person, as by the sundry late executions wee have have seen, and by the punishments every way of Papists we may perceive.

Late executions.

Gentl. Truth it is (quoth the Gentleman) that justice hath bin done upon divers of late, which contenteth me greatly, for the terrour and restraint of others, of what sect or religion soever they be: And it is most necessary (doubtles) for the compressing of parties, that great vigilance be used in that behalfe. But when I consider, that only one kind of men are touched herein: and that all speech, regard, doubt, distrust, and watch is of them alone; without reflection of eye upon other mens doings or designements: when I see the double diligence and vehemency of certaine instruments, which I like not, bent wholly to raise wonder and admiration of the people, feare, terrour, and attention to the doings, sayings, and meanings of one part or faction alone, and of that namely and only which these

theſe conſpirators eſteem for moſt dangerous and oppoſite to themſelves: I am (beleeve me) often tempted to ſuſpect fraud and falſe meaſure: and that theſe men deale, as wolves by nature in other Countries are wont to do: Which going together in great numbers to aſſaile a flocke of ſheep by night, doe ſet ſome one or two of their company upon the wind ſide of the fold a far off, who parly by their ſent and other bruteling, which of purpoſe they make, may draw the dogs and ſheepheards to purſue them alone, whiles the other doe enter and ſlay the whole flock. Or as rebels that meaning to ſurprize a Town, to turne away the Inhabitants from conſidering of the danger, and from defence of that place, where they intend to enter, doe ſet on fire ſome other parts of the Towne further off, and doe ſound a falſe alarme at ſome gate, where is meant leaſt danger.

Fraud to be feared in purſuing one part or faction only.

The compariſon of Wolves and Rebels.

Which art was uſed cunningly by *Richard* of *Yorke* in the time of King *Henrie* the ſixt, when he to cover his owne intent, brought all the Realme in doubt of the doings of *Edmond* Duke of *Somerſet*, his enemy. But *Iohn* of *Northamberland*, father to my Lord of *Leyceſter*, uſed the ſame art much more skilfully, when hee put all *England* in a maze and muſing of the Protector, and of his friends: as though nothing could be ſafe about the yong King, untill they were ſuppreſſed: and conſequently, all brought into his owne authority, without obſtacle. I ſpeake not this to excuſe Papiſts, or to wiſh them any way ſpared wherein they offend: but onely to ſignifie that in a Countrey, where ſo potent factions bee, it is not ſafe, to ſuffer the one to make it ſelfe ſo puiſſant by purſuit of the other: as afterwards the Prince muſt remaine at the devotion of the ſtronger:

D. Richard *Duke of Yorke.*

D. Dudly.

A good rule of policy.

ſtronger: but rather as in a body moleſted and troubled with contrarie humours, if all cannot be purged, the beſt Phyſick is without all doubt to reduce and hold them at ſuch an equality, as deſtruction may not be feared of the predominant.

To this ſaid the Lawyer laughing, yea marry Sir, I would to God your opinion might prevaile in this matter; for then ſhould wee bee in other tearmes then now we are. I was, not long ſince, in company of a certaine honourable Lady of the Court, who, after ſome ſpeech paſſed by Gentlemen that were preſent, of ſome apprehended, and ſome executed, and ſuch like affaires, brake into a great complaint of the preſent time, and therewith (I aſſure you) moved all the hearers to griefe (as women you know are potent in ſtirring of affections) and cauſed them all to wiſh that her Majeſty had beene nigh to have heard her words.

The ſpeech of a certain Lady of the Court.

I doe well remember (quoth ſhe) the firſt doſen yeares of her Highneſſe reigne, how happy, pleaſant and quiet they were, with all manner of comfort and conſolation. There was no mention then of factions in religion, neither was any man much noted or rejected for that cauſe: ſo otherwiſe his converſation were civill and courteous. No ſuſpition of treaſon, no talke of bloudſhed, no complaint of troubles, miſeries, or vexations, All was peace, all was love, all was joy, all was delight. Her Majeſtie (I am ſure) took more Recreation at that time in one day, than ſhee doth now in a whole week: and wee that ſerved her Highneſſe, enjoyed more contentation in a weeke, than we can now in divers yeares. For now, there are ſo many ſuſpitions every where, for this thing, and for that, as we cannot tell whom to truſt. So many melancholick in the Court, that ſeem male-

conten-

contented, ſo many complayning or ſuing for their friends that are in trouble: others ſlip over the Sea, or retire themſelves upon the ſuddaine: ſo many tales brought us of this or that danger; of this man ſuſpected, of that man ſent for up, and ſuch like unpleaſant, and unſavorie ſtuffe; as we can never almoſt bee merry one whole day together.

Wherefore (quoth this Lady) wee that are of her Majeſties traine and ſpeciall ſervice, and doe not onely feele theſe things in our ſelves, but much more in the grief of her moſt excellent Majeſty whom we ſee dayly moleſted herewith (being one of the beſt natures, I am ſure, that ever noble Princeſſe was indued withall:) wee cannot but mone, to behold contentions advanced ſo far forth as they are: and we could wiſh moſt heartily that for the time to come theſe matters might paſſe with ſuch peace, friendſhip, and tranquillity, as they doe in other Countryes, where difference in religion breaketh not the band of good fellowſhip, or fidelity. And with this in a ſmiling manner ſhe brake off, asking pardon of the company, if ſhe had ſpoken her opinion over boldly, like a woman.

More moderation wiſhed in matters of faction.

To whom anſwered a Courtier that ſate next her: Madame, your Ladiſhip hath ſaid nothing in this behalfe, that is not dayly debated amongſt us, in our common ſpeech in Court as you know. Your deſire alſo herein is a publick deſire, if it might be brought to paſſe: for there is no man ſo ſimple, that ſeeth not how perilous theſe contentions and diviſions among us may bee in the end. And I have heard divers Gentlemen that be learned, diſcourſe at large upon this argument: alleaging old examples of the *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*,

The ſpeech of a Courtier.

The perill of diuisions & factions in a Commonwealth

demonians, *Carthigenians*, and *Romans*, who receiued notable dammages, and destruction also in the end, by their diuisions and factions among themselues, and specially from them of their own Cities and Countries, who upon factions lived abroad with Forrainers: and thereby were always as fire-brands, to carry home the flame of Warre upon their Countrey.

The like they also shewed by the long experience of all the great Cities and States of *Italy*: which by their factions and forucites, were in continuall gar-boyle, bloud-shed and miserie. Whereof our owne countrey hath also tasted her part, by the odious contention between the houses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*: wherein it is marvailous to consider, what trouble a few men oftentimes, departing out of the Realme, were able to worke by the part of their faction remaining at home (which commonly encreaseth toward them that are absent) & by the readines of forrain Princes, to receive alwayes, and comfort such as are discontented in another state: to the end, that by their meanes, they might hold an Ore in their neighbours boat: Which Princes that are nigh borderers, doe alwayes above all other things most covet and desire.

The dangerous sequel of dissention in our Realme.

This was that Courtiers speech and reason, whereby I perceived, that aswell among them in Court, as among us in the Realme and Country abroad, the present inconvenience and dangerous sequell of this our home dissention, is espyed, and consequently most English hearts inclined to wish the remedy or prevention thereof, by some reasonable moderation, or re-union among our selves. For that the prosecution of these differences to extremitie, cannot but after many wounds

and

and exulcerations bring matters finally to rage, fury, and moſt deadly deſperation.

Whereas on the other ſide, if any ſweet qualification, or ſmall tolleration among us were admitted: there is no doubt, but that affaires would paſſe in our Realme with more quietneſſe, ſafety and publike weale of the ſame, then it is like it will doe long: and men would eaſily be brought, that have Engliſh bowells, to joyne in the preſervation of their Countrey from ruine, bloudſhed, and forraine oppreſſion, which deſparation of factions is wont to procure.

I am of your opinion (quoth the Gentleman) in that, for I have ſeene the experience thereof, and all the world beholdeth the ſame at this day, in all the Countries of *Germanie*, *Polonia*, *Bœmland*, and *Hungarie*: where a little bearing of the one with the other, hath wrought them much eaſe, and continued them a peace, whereof all *Europe* beſides hath admiration and envie. The firſt 12 years alſo of her Majeſties reign, whereof your Lady of the Court diſcourſed of before, can well bee a witneſſe of the ſame: wherein the commiſeration and lenity that was uſed towards thoſe of the weaker ſort, with a certaine ſweet diligence for their gaining, by good means was the cauſe of much peace, contentation, and other benefit to the whole body.

Gentl.

Examples of tolleration in matters of religion.

Germany.

Wee ſee in *France*, that by over much preſſing of one part onely, a fire was inkindled not many yeares ſince, like to have conſumed and deſtroyed the whole: had not a neceſſary mollification been thought upon by the wiſeſt of that Kings Councell full contrary to the will and inclination of ſome great perſonages, who meant perhaps to have gained more by the other:

The breach & reunion again in France.

and

and since that time we see what peace, wealth, and re-union hath ensued in that Country that was so broken, dissevered, and wasted before. And all this, by yeelding a little in that thing, which no force can master, but exulcerate rather, and make worse: I meane the conscience and judgement of men in matters of Religion.

Flanders. The like also I could name you in *Flanders*, where after all these broyles and miseries of so many yeares warres (caused principally by too much streyning in such affaires at the beginning) albeit the King bee never so strict-laced, in yeelding to publike liberty, and free exercise on both parts: yet is he descended to this at length (and that upon force of reason) to abstaine from the pursuit and search of mens consciences, not only in the townes, which upon composition hee receiveth, but also where he hath recovered by force, as in *Torney*, and other places: where I am informed that no man is searched, demanded, or molested for his opinion or conscience, nor any act of Papistry or contrary religion required at their hands, but are permitted to live quietly to God and themselves, at home in their owne houses: so they performe otherwise their outward obedience and duties to their Prince and Countrey. Which only qualification, tollerance, and moderation in our Realme (if I bee not deceived, with many more that be of my opinion) would content all divisions, factions, and parties among us, for their continuance in peace: bee they Papists, Puritans, Familians: or of whatsoever nice difference or section besides, and would be sufficient to retaine all parties within a temperate obedience to the Magistrate and government, for conservation of their Countrey: which were of no small importance

tance to the contentation of her Majesty, and the weale publick of the whole kingdome.

Moderation impugned by the conspirators.

But what should I talke of this thing which is so contrary to the desires and designements of our puissant Conspirators? What should *Cicero* the Senator use perswasions to Captaine *Cateline*, and his crew, that quietnesse and order were better than hurliburlies? Is it possible that our aspirors will ever permit any such thing, cause, or matter, to be treated in our state, as may tend to the stability of her Majesties present government? No surely, it standeth nothing with their wisedome or policy, especially at this instant, when they have such opportunity of following their owne actions in Her Majesties name, under the vizard and pretext of her defence and safety: having sowed in every mans head so many imaginations of the dangers present both abroad and at home: from *Scotland*, *Flanders*, *Spaine*, and *Ireland*: so man conspiracies, so many intended murthers, and others so many contrived or conceived mischiefes: as my Lord of *Leicester* assureth himselfe that the troubled water cannot be cleared againe in short space, nor his baits and lines laid therein, easily espyed: but rather, that hereby, ere long, he will catch the fish he gapeth so greedily after: and in the meane time, for the pursuit of these crimes, and other that he dayly will finde out, himselfe must remaine perpetuall Dictator.

Cicero.

Cateline.

The Conspirators opportunitie.

But what meaneth this so much inculcating of troubles, treasons, murthers, and invasions? I like not surely these ominous speeches. And as I am out of doubt, that *Leicester* the caster of these shadowes, doth look to play his part first in these troublesome affaires: so doe I heartily feare, that unlesse

unlesse the tyranny of this *Leicestrian* fury bee speedily stopped, that such miserie to Prince and people (which the Lord for his mercies sake turne from us) as never greater fell before to our miserable Countrey, is far nearer hand than is expected or suspected.

Leycester to be called to account.

And therefore for the prevention of these calamities, to tell you plainly mine opinion (good Sirs) and therewith to draw to an end of this our conference (for it waxeth late:) I would thinke it the most necessarie poynt of all for her Majesty to call his Lordship to account among other, and to see what other men could say against him, at length, after so many yeares of his sole accusing, and pursuing of others. I know, and am very well assured, that no one act which her Majestie hath done since her comming to the Crowne (as shee hath done right many most highly to be commended) nor any that lightly her Majesty may doe hereafter, can be of more utility to Her selfe, and to the Realme, or, more gratefull to her faithfull and zealous subjects than this noble act of Iustice would be, for tryall of this mans deserts towards his Countrey.

I say it would be profitable to her Majesty, and to the Realme, not onely in respect of the many dangers before mentioned, hereby to be avoyded, which are like to ensue most certainly, if his courses bee still permitted: but also for that her Majesty shall by this, deliver Her selfe from that generall grudge and griefe of mind, with great dislike, which many subiects, otherwise most faithfull, have conceived against the excessive favour shewed to this man so many yeares, without desert or reason. Which favour he having used to the hurt, annoyance, and oppression both of infinite

severall

severall persons, and the whole common-wealth (as hath bin said:) the griefe and resentment thereof, doth redound commonly in such cases not only upon the person delinquent alone, but also upon the Soveraigne, by whose favour & authority he offers such iniuries, though never so much against the others intent, desire or meaning.

And hereof we have examples of sundry Princes, in all ages and Countries, whose exorbitant favour to some wicked subiect that abused the same, hath bin the cause of great danger and ruine; the sins of the favourite being returned and revenged upon the favourer. As in the Historie of the *Grecians* is declared, by occasion of the pittifull murther of that wise and victorious P. *Philip* of *Macedony*, who albeit, that he were well assured to have given no offence of himself to any of his subiects, & consequently feared nothing, but conversed openly and confidently among them: yet, for that hee had favoured too much one Duke *Attalus*, a proud and insolent Courtier, and had born him out in certain of his wickednes, or at least not punished the same after it was detected and complained upon: the parties grieved accounting the crime more proper and heinous on the part of him, who by office should do iustice, & protect other, than of the perpetrator, who followeth his own passion and sensuality, let pass *Attalus*, & made their revenge upon the bloud & life of the K himself, by one *Pausanias*, suborned for that purpose, in the marriage day of the Kings owne daughter. *The death of K Philip of Macedonie, and cause there of.* Pausanias.

Great store of like examples may be repeated, but of the stories of other countries, nothing being more usuall or frequent among all nations, than the afflictions of realms and kingdoms, and

the overthrow of Princes and great Potentates themselves, by their too much affection towards some unworthy particular persons: a thing indeed so common and ordinary, as it may well seem to be the speciall Rock of all other, whereat Kings & Princes doe make their shipwracks.

For if we look into the states and Monarchies all Christendome, and consider the ruines that have bin of any Princes or Ruler within the same: we shall find this poynt to have bin a great and principall part of the cause thereof: and in our owne state and countrey, the matter is too evident. For whereas since the Conquest we number principally, three just and lawfull Kings, to have come to confusion, by alienation of their subjects: that is, *Edward* the second, *Rich.* the second, and *Henrie* the sixt: this only point of too much favour towards wicked persons, was the chiefest cause of destruction in all three. As in the first, the excessive favour towards *Peter Gaveston*, and two of the *Spencers*. In the second, the like extraordinarie, and indiscreet affection towards *Robert Vere*, Eurle of *Oxford*, and Marqueſſe of *Dublin*, and *Thomas Mowbray*, two most turbulent and wicked men that set the K. against his own Vncles & the nobility. In the third (being a simple and holy man) albeit no great exorbitant affection was seene towards any, yet his wife Queen *Margarets* too much favour and credit (by him not controled, towards the Marqueſſe of Suffolke that after was made Duke, by whose instinct and wicked Counsell, she made away first the noble Duke of *Glouceſter*, and afterward committed other things in great prejudice of the Realme, and suffered the said most impious and

Kings of England overthrown by too much favouring of some particular men.

K. Edw. 2

K. Rich. 2.

K. Henr. 6.

sinfull Duke to range and make havock of all sort of subjects at his pleasure (much after the fashion of the Earle of *Leicester* now, though yet not in so high and extreame a degree: (this I say was the principall and originall cause, both before God and man, (as *Polidore* well noteth) of all the calamity and extreme desolation, which after ensued both to the King, Queene, and their onely child, with the utter extirpation of their family. *Pol.lib.* 23 *hist. Angl.*

And so likewise now to speak in our particular case, if there be any grudge or griefe at this day, any misslike, repining, complaint or murmure against her Majesties government, in the hearts of her true and faithfull subjects, who wish amendment of that which is amisse, and not the overthrow of that which is well: (as I trow it were no wisedome to imagine there were none at all:) I dare avouch upon Conscience, that either all, or the greatest part thereof, proceedeth from this man; who by the favor of her Majesty so afflicteth her people as neverdid before him, either *Gaveston*, *Spencer*, *Vere*, or *Mowbray* or any other mischievous tirant, that abused most his Princes favour within our Realme of *England* Whereby it is evident how profitable a thing it should bee to the whole Realme, how honourable to her Majesty, and how gratefull to all her subjects, if this man at length might be called to his account.

Sir (quoth the Lawyer) you alleage great reason, and verily I am of opinion, that if her Majesty knew but the tenth part of this, which you have here spoken, as also her good subjects desires and complaint in this behalfe: she would well shew, that her Highnesse feareth not to Lawyer.

permit iustice to passeupon *Leicester*, or any other within her Realme, for satisfaction of her people, whatsoever some men may think and report to the contrary, or howsoever otherwise of her owne milde disposition towards the person, she have borne with him hitherto. For so we see that wise Princes can doe at times convenient, for peace and tranquillity, and publike weale: though contrary to their owne particular and peculiar inclination.

The punishment of William Duke of Suffolk.

As to goe no further then to the last example named and alleaged by your selfe before: though Queen *Margaret* the wife of K. *Henrie* the sixt, had favoured most unfortunately many yeares together, *William* Duke of *Suffolk* (as hath bin said) whereby he committed manifold outrages, and afflicted the Realme by sundry meanes: yet she being a woman of great prudence, when she saw the whole Communalty demand justice upon him for his demerits, albeit she liked and loved the man still: yet for satisfaction of the people, upon so generall a complaint, shee was content first to commit him to prison, and afterward to banish him the Realme: but the providence of God would not permit him so to escape: for that he being incountred and taken upon the sea in his passage, he was beheaded in the ship, and so received some part of condigne punishment for his most wicked, loose, and licentious life.

And to seeke no more examples in this case, & we know into what favour and speciall grace Sir *Edmond Dudley*, my Lord of *Leycesters* good Grandfather was crept, with King *Henry* the seventh, in the latter end of his reigne: and what intollerable wickednesse and mischiefe he wrought

wrought against the whole Realme, and against infinite particular persons of the same, by the polings and oppressions which hee practised: wherby though the King received great temporall commodity at that time, (as her Majesty doth nothing at all by the present extortions of his Nephew:) yet for justice sake, and for meere compassion towards his afflicted subiects, that complained grievously of this iniquity: that most vertuous and wise Prince King *Henrie* was content to put from him this lewd instrument, and devillish suggestor of new exactions: whom his sonne *Henrie* that ensued in the Crown, caused presently before all other busines, to be called publickly to account, and for his deserts to leese his head: So as where the interest of a whole Realme, or common cause of many, taketh place: the private favour of any one cannot stay a wise & godly Prince, (such as al the world knoweth her Maiesty to be) from permitting iustice to have her free passage.

The punishment of Edmond Dudley.

Truely it should not (quoth the Gentleman) for to that end were Princes first elected, and upon that consideration doe subiects both pay them tribute and obedience; to bee defended by them from iniuries and oppressions, and to see lawes executed, and iustice exercised, upon and towards all men with indifferency. And as for our particular case of my Lord of *Leycester*, I doe not see in right and equity how her Maiesty may deny this lawfull desire and petition of her people. For if her highnesse doe permit and command the Lawes dayly to passe upon thieves and murderers without exception, and that for one fact onely, as by experience we see; how then can it be denied in this man,

Gentl. *The causes why Princes are chosen, and do receive obedience.*

who in both kinds hath committed more enormous acts, then may be well recounted.

Leycesters *Thefts.*

As in the first, of theft, not onely by spoyling and oppressing almost infinite private men: but also whole Towns, Villages, Corporations, and Countries, by robbing the Realme with inordinate licences, by deceiving the Crown with racking, changing and imbezeling thn Lands, by abusing his Prince and Soveraigne in selling his favour both at home and abroad: with taking bribes for matter of justice, grace, request, supplication, or whatsoever sute else may depend upon the Court, or of the Princes authority: with setting at sale, and making open market of whatsoever her Majesty can give, doe, or procure, be it spirituall or temporall. In which sort of traffick he committeth more theft oftentimes in one day than all the way-keepers, cut-purses, couseners, pirates, burglares, or other of that art in a whole yeare, within the Realme

Leycesters *murthers.*

And as for the second, which is murther, you have heard before somewhat said and proved: but yet nothing to that which is thought to have bin in secret committed upon divers occasions at divers times, in sundry persons, of different calling in both sexes, by most variable means of killing, poysoning, charming, inchanting, conjuring, and the like, according to the diversity of men, places, opportunities, and instruments for the same. By all which meanes, I think he hath more bloud lying upon his head at this day, crying vengeance against him at Gods hands, & her Majesty, than ever had private man in our Country before, were he never so wicked.

Whereto now, if we adde his other good behaviour, as his intollerable licentiousnesse in all filthy kinds

kind and manner of carnality, with all sort of Wives, Friends, and Kinswomen: if wee add his iniuries and dishonours, done hereby to infinite: if we adde his treasons, treacheries, and conspiracies about the Crowne; his disloyall behaviour, and hatred against her Majesty, his ordinarie lying, and common perjuring himselfe in all matters for his gain, both great and smal; his rapes and most violent extortions upon the poore; his abusing of the Parliament and other places of justice, with the Nobility and whole Communalty besides; if we add also his open injuries which hee offereth dayly to Religion, and the Ministers thereof, by tithing them, and turning all to his owne gaine; together with his manifest and known tyranny practised towards all estates abroad, throughout all Shires of the kingdome; his dispoyling of both the Universities, and discouraging of infinite notable wits there, from seeking perfection of knowledge and learning, (which otherwise were like to become notable) especially in Gods word (which giveth life unto the soule,) by defrauding them of the price and reward proposed for their travail in that kind, through his insatiable Simoniacall contracts: if I say, we should lay together all these enormities before her Majesty, and thousands more in particular, which might and would be gathered, if his day of his triall were but in hope to be granted. I do not see in equity and reason, how her Highnesse sitting in throne, and at the royall sterne, as shee doth, could denie her Subiects this most lawfull request; considering, that every one of these crimes apart, requireth justice of his owne nature; and much more all together ought to obtaine the same, at the hands of any good and godly Magistrate in the World.

A heap of Leycesters enormities that would be ready at the day of his triall.

Schollar. *Her Maiesties tender heart towards the realme.*

No doubt (quoth I) but that these considerations must needs weigh much with any zealous Prince and much more with her most excellent Majesty whose tender heart towards her Realm and Subjects, is very well known of all men. It is not to be thought also but that her Highnesse hath intelligence of divers of hese matters alleaged, though not perhaps of all. But what would you have her Majesty to doe? perhaps the consultation of this affaire, is not, what were convenient, but what is expedient: not, what ought to bee done in justice, but what may bee done in safety. You have described my Lord before to be a great man, strongly furnished and fortified for all events. What if it be not secure to bark at the Bear that is so wel britched? I speak unto you, but that which I heare in *Cambridge* and other places where I have passed: where every mans opinion is, that her Majesty standeth not in free choyse to doe what her selfe best liketh in that case, at this day.

Gentl. *Leycesters desire that men should thinke her Majesty to stand in feare of him.*

I know (said the Gentleman) that *Leicesters* friends give it out every where that her *Maiesty* now, is their good Lords prisoner, and that shee either will or must be directed by him for the time to come, except she will do worse: Which thing his Lordship is well contented should bee spread abroad, and believed for two causes: the one to hold the people thereby more in awe of himself, than of their Soveraign: and secondly to draw her Majesty indeed by degrees to fear him. For considering with himselfe what hee hath done: and that it is impossible in truth that ever her Majesty should love him again, or trust him after so many treacheries as he well knoweth are come to her Highnes understanding: he thinketh that

that he hath no way of ſure ſtanding, but by terror and opinion of his puiſſant greatneſſe; wherby he would hold her Majeſty and the Realme in thraldome, as his father did in his time before him. And then, for that he wel remembreth the true ſaying, *Malus cuſtos diuturnitatis, metus*: he mu't provide ſhortly, that thoſe which feare him, be not able to hurt him: and conſequently you know what muſt follow, by the example of K. *Edward*, who feared Duke *Dudley* extreamly for that he had cut off his two Vncles heads, and the Duke took order that he ſhould never live to revenge the ſame For it is a ſetled rule of *Machiavel*, which the *Dudlies* doe obſerve: *That wher you have once done a great injury, there muſt you never forgive.*

Cicero in Officio.

A rule of Machivell obſerved by the Dudlies

But I will tell you (my friends) and I will tell you no u truth, for that I know what I ſpeak herein, and am privie to the ſtate of my Lord in this behalfe, and of mens opinions and affections towards him within the Realme. Moſt certaine it is, that hee is ſtrong by the preſent favour of the Prince (as hath bin ſhewed before) in reſpect wherof, he is admitted alſo as chief patron of the *Huntington* faction, though neither loved, nor greatly truſted of the ſame: but let her Majeſty once turn her countenance aſide from him in good earneſt, and ſpeak but the word only, *that iuſtice ſhall take place againſt him*; and I will undertake with gaging of both my life and little lands that God hath given me, that without ſtur or trouble, or any danger in the world, the Beare ſhall be taken to her Majeſties hand, and faſt chained to a ſtake, with mouzell, cord, collar, and ring, and all other things neceſſary: ſo that her Majeſty ſhal bait him at her pleaſure, without all danger of byting, breaking looſe, or any other inconvenience whatſoever.

Leyceſter *ſtrong onely by her Maieſties favour.*

An offer made for taking and tying the Beare.

For

For (Sirs) you must not think, that this man holdeth any thing abroad in the Realme but by violence, and that onely upon her Majesties favour and countenance towards him. He hath not any thing of his owne, either from his ancestors, or of himselfe, to stay upon, in mens hearts or conceits: he hath not ancient Nobility, as other of our realm have, wherby mens affections are greatly moved. His father *John Dudley* was the first noble of his line; who raised and made himselfe big by supplanting of other, and by setting debate among the Nobilitie: as also his grandfather *Edmond*, a most wicked Promoter, and wretched Pettifogger, enriched himselfe by other mens ruines: both of them condemned Traitors, though different in quality, the one being a cousener, and the other a tyrant, and both of their vices conjoyned, collected, and compriſed (with many more additions) in this man (or beast rather) which is *Robert*, the third of their kin and kind. So that from his ancestors, this Lord receiveth neither honour nor honesty, but onely succession of treason and infamy.

Leicester what hee receiveth from his ancestors.

And yet in himselfe hath he much lesse of good, wherewith to procure himselfe love or credit among men, than these ancestors of his had; hee being a man wholy abandoned of humane vertue, and devoted to wickednes, which maketh men edible both to God and man. In his father (no doubt) there were to be seen many excellent good parts, if they had been joyned with faith, honesty, moderation and loyalty. For all the world know that he was very wise, valiant, magnanimous, liberall, and assured friendly where he once promised: of all which vertues my Lord his son hath neither shew nor shadow, but onely a certaine false repre-

The comparison of Leycester with his father.

representation of the first, being craftie and subtile to deceive, and ingenious to wickednesse. For as for valour, he hath as much as hath a mouse: his magnanimity is base sordidity: his liberality rapine: his friendship plaine fraud, holding onely for his gaine, and no otherwise, though it were bound with a thousand oathes; of which he maketh as great account, as hens doe of cackling, but onely for his commodity: using them specially and in greatest number, when most he meaneth to deceive. Namely, if he sweare solemnly by his *George*, or by the eternall God, then be sure it is a false lye: for these are observations in the Court: and sometimes in his owne lodging; in like case his manner is to take up and sweare by the Bible, whereby a Gentleman of good account, and one that seemeth to follow him, (as many do that like him but a little) protested to me of his knowledge, that in a very short space, hee observed him wittingly and willingly to be forsworn sixteen times.

The weaknesse of Leycester if her Majesty turne but her countenance from him.

This man therefore so contemptible by his ancestors, so odible of himselfe, so plunged, overwhelmed and defamed in all vice, so envyed in the Court, so detested in the Country, and not trusted of his owne and dearest friends, nay (which I am privie to) so misliked and hated of his owne servants about him, for his beastly life, nigardy, and Atheisme (being never seene yet to say one private prayer within his chamber in his life) as they desire nothing in this world so much as his ruine, and that they may be the first, to lay hands upon him for revenge. This man (I say) so broken both within & without, is it possible that her Majesty and her wise Councell should feare? I can never believe it, or if it be so, it is Gods permission without all cause, for punishment of our sins: for

that

that this man, if he once perceive indeed that they feare him, will handle them accordingly, and play the Beare indeed: which inconvenience I hope they will have care to prevent, and so I leave it to God, and them, craving pardon of my Lord of *Leicester* for my boldnes, if I have been too plain with him. And so I pray you let us goe to supper, for I see my seruant expecting yonder at the Gallery doore to call us downe.

Lawyer. *The end and departure from the Gallerie.*

To that, said the Lawyer, I am content with all my heart; and I would it had beene sooner, for that I am afraid, lest any by chance have ouer-heard us here since night. For my owne part, I must say, that I have not been at such a conference this seven years, nor meane to bee hereafter, if I may escape well with this; whereof I am sure I shall dreame this fortnight, and thinke oftner of my Lord of *Leicester*, than ever I had intended: God amend him and me both. But if ever I heare at other hands of these matters hereafter, I shall surely be quake britch, and thinke every bush a theefe. And with that, came up the Mistris of the house to fetch us down to supper, and so all was husht, saving that at supper a gentleman or two began again to speak of my Lord, and that so conformable to some of our former speech (as indeed it is the common talke at tables every where) that the old Lawyer began to shrink and be appaled, and to cast dry looks upon the Gentleman our friend, doubting lest something had been discouered of our conference. But indeed it was not so.

Pia et utilis Meditatio, desumpta ex libro Iobi. *Cap*, 20.

HOc scio a principio, ex quo positus est homo super terram, quod laus impiorum brevis sit, et gaudium hypocritæ ad instar puncti. Si ascenderit usq; ad cœlum superbia ejus, et caput ejus nubes tetigerit: quasi sterquilinium in fine perdetur, et qui eum viderant, dicent ubi est? velut somnium avolans non invenietur, transiet sicut visio nocturna. Oculus qui eum viderat, non videbit, neq; ultra intuebitur eum locus suus. Filii eius atterentur egestate, & manus illius reddent et laborem suum. Ossa eius implebuntur vitiis adolescentiæ ejus, & cum eo in pulvere dormient. Panis eius in utero illius vertetur in fel aspidum intrinsecus. Divitias quas devoravit, evomet, et de ventre illius extrahet eas Deus. Caput aspidum surget, & occidet eum lingua viperæ. Luet quæ fecit omnia, nec tamen consumetur. Iuxta multi tudinem adinventionum suarum, sic et sustinebit. Quoniã cõfringens nudabit pauperes: domum rapuit, & non ædificavit eam, nec est satiatus venter eius, & cum habuerit quæ concupierit, possidere non poterit. Non remanet de cibo eius, & propterea non permanebit de bonis eius. Cũ satiatus fuerit, arctabitur, æstuabit, & omnis dolor irruet super eum. Vtinam impleatur venter eius, ut immittat in eũ (Deus) iram furoris sui, & pluat super illum bellum suum. Fugiet arma ferrea, & irruet in arcum æreum. Gladius eductus & egrediens de vagina sua, & fulgurans in amaritudine sua: Omnes tenebræ absconditæ sunt in occultis eius. Devorabit eum ignis qui non succenditur, afflictur relictus in tabernaculo suo. Apertum erit germen domus illius, detrahetur in die furoris dei. Hæc est pars hominis impii, à deo, & hæreditas verborum ejus à domino.

A Godly and profitable Meditation, taken out of the 20. Chapter of the Booke of Job.

The wicked mans pomp.

THis I know from the first, that man was pla-
ced upon earth, that the praise (or applause)
given to wicked men, endureth but a little, and
the joy of an hypocrite is but for a moment.

His joy.

Though his pride were so great as to mount to
heaven, and his head should touch the skyes, yet

His pride.

in the end shall hee come to perdition as a dung-

His fall.

hill, and they who beheld him (in glory before)
shall say, where is he? he shall be found as a fry-
ing dreame, and as a phantasie by night shall fade
away. The eye that beheld him before, shall no
more see him, nor yet shall his place (of honour)
ever more behold him. His children shall be wont

His children.

out with beggerie, and his owne hands shall re-

His old age

turne upon him his sorrow. His (old) bones shall
be repleniſhed with the vices of his youth, and

His bread.

they shall sleep with him in his grave. His bread
in his belly shall be turned inwardly into the gall

His restitution.

of Serpents. The riches which hee hath devoured
he shall vomit forth againe, and God shall pull
them forth of his belly. He shall suck the head of

His punishment.

Cocatrices, and the (venemous) tongues of adders
shall slay him. He shall sustaine due punishment
for all the wickednes that he hath committed, nor
yet shall he have end or consummation thereof.

His wickedneſſe.

Hee shall suffer according to the multitude of all
his wicked inventions. For that by violence he
hath spoyled the poore, made havock of his house
and

and not builded the ſame. His womb is never ſatisfied, & yet when he hath that which he deſired, he ſhall not bee able to poſſeſſe the ſame. There remaineth no part of his meat (for the poore:) and therefore there ſhall remaine nothing of his goods. When his belly is full then ſhall he begin to be ſtraitned, then ſhall he ſweat, and all kinde of ſorrow ſhall ruſh upon him. I would his belly were once full, that God might ſend out upon him the rage of his fury, and raine upon him his war. He ſhall flye away from Iron weapons, and run upon a bow of braſſe. A drawne ſword comming out of his skabard ſhall flaſh as lightning in his bitterneſſe. All darkneſſe lye hidden for him in ſecret: the fire that needeth no kindling ſhall devoure him, and hee ſhall be tormented alone in his tabernacle. The off-ſpring of his houſe ſhall be made open, and pulled down, in the day of Gods fury. This is the portion of a wicked man from God, and this is the inheritance of his ſubſtance from the Lord.

His griefe.

His affliction.

His damnation.

His poſterity.

FINIS.

LEICESTER'S GHOST.

Printed, *Anno Dom.* MDCXLI.

LEICESTER'S GHOST.

JThat ſometimes ſhin'd like the orient Sunne,
Though Fortunes ſubject, yet a puiſſant Lord,
Am now an object to be gaz'd upon,
An abject rather fit to be deplor'd
Dejected now that whilome was ador'd;
Affected once, ſuſpected ſince of many
Rejected now, reſpected ſcarce of any.

My Spirit hovering in the foggie aire
Since it did paſſe the frozen Stygian flood,
Vnto great *Britanes* Empire did repaire;
Where of ELIZA's death I underſtood,
And that the heavens carefull of Englands good
Rais'd up a King, who crowned with loves peace
Brought in new ioyes & made old griefes to ceaſe

Thus from the concave vaults of ſtarleſſe night
Where neither ſunne nor moone vouchſafe to ſhine
My wretched Ghoſt at length is come to light
By charters granted from the powers divine
Snake-eating envie, ô doe not repine
At honours-ſhadow, doe not bite the dead,
My pride is paſt, my pompe from th'earth is fled

My Princely birth, my high enobled ſtate
My ſomtime-dreadfull frownes now none regard;
My great good-turnes to many done of late
With gratefull hearts, now few or none reward
My fame is blotted out, my honour ſcar'd;
My monuments defac'd, my reliques torne
Yea, vaſſailes doe my Excellency ſcorne.

Ah silly peasants, as each Greeian boy,
Would brave stout *Hector* being dead and cold,
That whilome was the piller of old Troy,
Whose presence living they durst scarce behold,
Now since you see me dead you grow so bold,
As to controle my acts, whose lookes did daunt
The proudest Peeres that liv'd in *Troynovant*.

A time there was, when stately Beares could clime,
And in that time, was I a stately Beare;
Who climb'd so fast and in a little time,
That my high mounting other beasts did feare
My fortunes, by their downfals I did reare:
I now rejoyce, whilst others I made mourne,
And serv'd the time to make time serve my turne.

I was the off-spring of a Princely Syre
He too well knew by his clime-falling pride
Like *Dedalus* hee taught me to aspire;
Wee both did flie, he fell, I did but slide;
Like in attempts, yet unlike chance we tryed:
Hee by a Queene did dye, and as that chanc'd,
I by a Queene did live, and was advanc'd.

For Lady *Iane* by him a Queene proclam'd
Was soone suppreſt, Queene *Mary* got the Crowne,
Which as her proper right she boldly claim'd,
My Father striv'd in vaine to keepe her downe,
And for that lost his life, I my renowne,
Till sacred *Cynthia* to the Kingdome came,
That gave new life to my late dying fame.

That Peereleſſe Queene of happie memoty
That late like *Debora* the Kingdome swaid,
Now triumphs in the Iasper coloured skie
With starre-embrodered vesture rich arrayed;
Shee, shee restor'd my honours then decay'd
When treason did attaint my Fathers bloud,
And drown'd our Princely race in *Lethes* floud.

Then

Then *Iupiter* was in my Horoſcope
And *Cinthia* bleſt me with her faire aſpect,
What might not then my youth and courage hope
When me my Soveraignes favour did protect,
O what may not a Princeſſe grace effect
When Majeſtie on hopeleſſe men doth ſmile
Whoſe joyes did ſeeme to periſh in exile.

Even when Queene *Maries* tragick Raigne did end
My comick fortunes in their prime begun
That time when *Cinthia's* brightneſſe did extend
To lighten this darke Land whoſe ſplendant Sunne
Was in Eclipſe and ſorrowes ſtreame did runne
I like the glorious day-ſtarre did appeare
With faire upriſe, to grace this Hemiſpheare.

Since *Brute* firſt ſway'd all this united Land
No Subject firmer held his Soveraignes grace,
My will imperiall for a Law did ſtand,
Such was my Princes pleaſure, ſuch my place,
As Momus durſt not offer me diſgrace;
What man did ſmile when *Leiſters* brow did frowne
Whoſe wit could guide, though never get the Crown

Whilſt in this glorious Ocean I did ſwim
To high preferment divers men I brought,
Which ſince have ſought my Honours Lamp to dim,
Yea ſuch as I before advanc'd of nought
Againſt my perſon treacheries have wrought,
Thus honours doe oft-times good manners change,
And men grown rich to anciẽt friends grow ſtrange.

I grieve to thinke, I did ſuch men advance
And raiſe their baſe lines to a ſtately pitch
Vnder the ſhadow of my countenance
The ſubſtance of the Earth did make them rich,
What fury did their ſences thus bewitch,
Or was it ſome ill Spirit that poſſeſt them?
To ſeeke my ruine, whoſe large bounty bleſt them.

Thus

Thus they in vaine my downefall did conſpire
Like dogs that at the Moone doe fondly barke
And did but burne themſelves like *Ætna's* fire,
Or like grim Owles did wonder in the darke
Contem'd of me that mounted like the Larke,
Or that rare bird that builds her neſt on high
In Cedar Trees whoſe tops affront the skie.

When I commanded who durſt countermand
Were not meane ſubiects, ſubject to my beck,
What man of worth my pleaſure did with-ſtand,
What ſimple ſwaines could doe, I did not wreake
I gave the mate to thoſe that gave me check
By the Queenes helpe and threatning lookes
I rul'd the pawnes, the Biſhops, Knights, & Rooks.

Thus did I play at Cheſſe and wonne the game
Having the queene my puiſſance to ſupport,
The Biſhops for ambition did me blame
The pawnes affirm'd I wan by much extort
The Rooks & Knights foūd draughts to mar my ſport,
Had not ſome ſtopt me with their timely checks,
I might have given them check without their necks.

My braine had wit, my tongue was eloquent
Fit to diſcourſe or tell a Courtly tale
My preſence portly brave Magnificent,
My words imperious, ſtout, ſubſtantiall
My geſtures loving, kind, Heroicall;
My thoughts ambitious, proud, and full of fire,
My deeds were good or bad as times require.

Some of my foes that bare me deadly hate,
That had to them chiefe Offices aſſign'd,
And were my fellow Conſuls in the State
Iealous ſtill of my aſpiring mind
Gave me this praiſe though otherwiſe vnkind,
That I was wondrous politique and wiſe,
A States-man that knew how to temporiſe.

Some others tooke me for a zealous man
Becauſe good Preachers I did patronize,
And many thought me a Preciſian
But God doth know, I never was preciſe
I ſeem'd devout in godly exerciſe :
And by Religious ſhew confirm'd my might
But who durſt ſay, I was an hypocrite.

As *Numa* when he firſt did ſeeke to draw
The Roman people underneath his yoke,
Touching Religion he ordain'd a Law
And feyned he with Nimph *Egeria* ſpoke
That him to this good motion did provoke :
Whereby as if it were with heavens conſent
He brought his men to civill government.

So when I came in high affaires to deale
Of ſound Religion I did make a ſhow
And by pretence of hot and fervent zeale
In wealth and faction I more ſtrong did grow
For this by practice I did plainly know ;
That men are apt to yeeld to any motion
Made by a man that is of pure devotion.

Yet could I ſtraine my Conſcience for a need,
For though I ſeem'd an earneſt Proteſtant
For gaine I favour'd Papiſt ſo indeed,
Some held me for a newter, and I grant
To ſerve my turne I would turne Puritant :
Thus by Religion, honour ſome doe winne
And this faire cloke oft covers filthy ſinne.

Like as the ayre-ſucking-Chamelion
Can him transforme to any hue ſave white ;
So men can turne to any faſhion
Save to that forme which is ſincere and right,
For though he may delude the peoples ſight,
It is in vaine before God to diſſemble
Whoſe power the Divels know, & knowing tremble

Was I the onely man that hath offended
In making holineſſe a cloake for ſinne?
The Frenchmen for religions ſake pretended
Their civill Warres of late time did begin,
But yet ambition chiefly drew them in,
Yea mad ambition, and deſire of gaine
Makes endleſſe broyles betwixt the States & Spain.

Of promiſes, I was ſo prodigall,
So kind, well ſpoken, and ſo liberall,
That to ſome great Divine as it might fall
Perhaps I promiſed a Biſhoprick,
But in performance I was nothing quick;
Thus with faire words, mens humours oft I fed
Whilſt hope this while a good opinion bred.

To learned Schollers I was ſomething franck
Not for the love that I to learning bore,
But either to get praiſe or pick a thanke
Of ſuch as could the Muſes aide implore
To conſecrate my name for evermore;
For he is bleſt that ſo befriended dyes
Whoſe praiſe the Muſes will immortalize.

You that deſire to have your fame ſurvive
When you within your graves intomb'd ſhall lye,
Cheriſh thoſe ſacred Siſters while you live
For they be daughters of Dame memory
Of the thundring Monarch of the ſky:
They have the gift to regiſter with pen
Th'eternall fame or infamy of men.

The Students of the Vniverſity
Oxford whereof I was the Chancellor,
That Nurſe of ſcience and Philoſophy
Knowing the greatneſſe of my wit and power
Did honour me as the faire ſpringing flower;
That in the Princeſſe favour highly grew
Whom ſhe with ſhowers of gold did of bedew.

At my command both *Dee* and *Allen* tended
By Magick Art my pleasure to fulfill
These to my service their best studies bended,
And why they durst not disobey my will,
Yea whatsoever was of secret skill
In Oxford or in Cambridge to be sold
I bought for love, for feare, or else for gold.

Doubtlesse the most renown'd Philosophers
As *Plato* and *Pithagoras* have sought
To learne the Hierogliphick Characters
And secrets which by Magick skill are wrought,
Such as th'Egyptians, Iewes, and Chaldees taught:
Th'art's not ill if men doe not abuse it,
No fault so bad, but some men will excuse it.

Lopus and *Iulio* were my chiefe Physitians,
Men that were cunning in the Art to kill
Good Schollers but of passing ill conditions,
Such as could ridde mens lives yet no blood spill,
Yea and with such dexterity and skill
Could give a dram of poyson that could slay
At end of the yeare, the moneth, the weeke or day

I never did these wicked men imploy
To wrong my Prince or my true loving friend
But false deceitfull wretches to destroy
And bring them to an vnexpected end
Let them looke to it that did most offend,
Whose names are Registred in Pluto's scroules,
For I will never answer for their soules.

Knights and Esquires the best in every shire
Did waite on me in England up and downe,
And some among them did my Livery weare
My smiles did seeme to promise them renowne,
But dismall haps insu'd when I did frowne
As when the starre Arcturus doth appeare
Of raging Tempests Sea-men stand in feare.

As

As for the Souldiers and the men of warre
At home in ſervice ſome I did retaine,
Others I ſent abroad not very farre
At my commandment to returne againe,
Theſe I with coſt did ſecretly maintaine
That if ought chanced otherwiſe then well,
I might haue ſent my foes to heauen or hell.

Likewiſe I brought the Lawyers in ſome awe,
The worthy ſtudents of the Innes of court,
That then applied them to the common Law,
Did yeeld to me in matters of import,
Although ſometimes I did the Lawe extort,
And whether right or wrong, my cauſe once heard,
To plead againſt me made great Lords afeard.

So the Lord *Barkley*, loſt good lands by me,
Whereof perchance at firſt he did not dreame,
Might many times doth overcome the right,
It is in vaine to ſtrive againſt the ſtreame,
When he that is chiefe ſubiect in the Realme,
Vpon his Princes favour reſts him bold,
He cannot or he will not be controld.

Thus by the Queene my puiſſiance was upheld,
And for my foes I euer was too ſtrong,
The grace I had from her all feare expeld,
I might wrong others, but not ſuffer wrong,
So many men did unto me belong,
Which on my favour chiefely did depend,
And for my ſake both goods, and land would ſpend.

The beſt eſteemed Nobles of the land.
On whoſe ſupport the publique ſtate relied,
Were linckt with me in friendſhips faithfull band,
Or elſe in kindred nerely were allied,
Their perfect loues and conſtant hearts I tried,
The inferior ſort at our devotion ſtood
Ready to execute what we thought good.

The Earle of Warwicke my owne loving brother
My ſiſters Husband th'Earle of Huntington,
The bounteous Earle of Bedford was another
Of my beſt friends belov'd of every one
Sir *Henry Sidneys* power in *Wales* well knowne:
And there the Earle of Pembroke chiefe of all
Of kinne my friend what ever thence might fall

In *Barwick* my wives Vncle had chiefe power
The Lord of Hunſdon my aſſured friend,
In Ireland the Lord *Grey* was Governour,
Gernſey and Ierſey, likewiſe did depend
Vpon ſuch men as did my will attend:
Hopton my man Lieutenant of the Tower
Was prompt to doe me ſervice at an houre.

Sir *Edward Horſey* in the Iſle of Wight
And noble Sir *George Cary* next bore ſway,
Men of great courage and no little might
To take my part in any doubtfull fray
In London the Recorder *Fleetwood* lay:
That often us'd good words that might incenſe
The Citizens to ſtand in my defence.

The Prentiſes did likewiſe take my part
As I in priuate quarrels oft have tryde,
So that I had the very head and heart
The Court and City leaning on my ſide,
With flattery ſome, others with gifts I plyd,
And ſome with threats, ſtern looks & angry words.
I wonne to my defence with Clubs and Swords.

Thus I by wiſedome and fine pollicie,
Maintain'd the reputation of my life,
Drawing to me the flowre of Chivalrie
To ſuccour me at need in civill ſtrife
Men that lov'd change in every place were rife:
And all the realme was v my power poſſeſt (beſt.
Think what this might have wrought but judge the

Like

Like *Claudius Marcellus* drawne through Rome
In his faire chariot which with Trophees deckt,
Crowned with Garlands by the Senates doome,
Whom they five times their Conſul did elect
That from their foes he might their lives protect:
When he with conqueſt did his Country greet
Loaden with ſpoyles lay proſtrate at his feet.

So did I ride in tryumph through chiefe townes
As if I had beene Viee-roy of this Land, (crownes
My face well grac'd with ſmiles, my purſe with
Holding the reynes of honour in my hand,
I managed the ſtate, I did command:
My lookes with humble majeſty repleat,
Made ſome men with me a Kings royall ſeat.

Thus waxt I popular to purchaſe fame
To me the common peoples knees did bow,
I could my humour ſtill ſo fitly frame
To entertaine all men to outward ſhew
With inward love, for few my heart did know:
And that I might not ſeeme puft up with pride
Bare-headed oft through Cities I did ride.

While ſome cry'd out, God ſave you gracious Lord,
Lord how they did my fame hyperbolize
My words and geſtures did ſo well accord
As with their hearts I ſeem'd to ſimpathize,
I charm'd their eares and did inchant their eyes:
Thus I was reckoned their chiefe Potentate
No poller but a piller of the ſtate.

Then I was call'd the life and th'heart o'th'Court
And ſome I wot what I had beene the head,
I had ſo great a trayne and ſuch a port,
As did the pompe of *Mortimer* exceed,
Who as in th'Engliſh Chronicles we read,
When ſecond *Edward* loſt his Kingly rights
Was waited on at once with nine-ſcore Knights.

That

That Earle of March and *Roger Mortimer*,
Rul'd the young King, queene mother, and the Peeres
I *Robert Dudley* Earle of Leicester,
Did sway in court and all the English steeres,
His rule was short, mine flourisht many yeares
He did his life with ignominy loose,
I lived and triumpht o're my proudest foes.

As the Image of great *Alexander* dead,
Made king *Cassander* tremble at the sight,
Spying the figure of his Royall head,
Whose presence sometime did the world affright,
Or like as Cæsars Monarchising spright,
Pursued false *Brutus* at *Philippos* field,
Till he that slew his Liege himselfe was kild.

So view yee petty Lords my Princely ghost,
I speake to you whose hearts be full of gall,
I whilst I liued was honour'd of the most,
And either fear'd for love of great and small,
Or lov'd for feare of such as wisht my fall,
Behold my shadow representing state,
Whose person sometime did your pride abate.

Weigh what I was, knights, gentlemen, and Peeres,
Whē my death threatning frowns did make you quake
As yet they have not passed many yeares,
Since I your plumes pluckt, lofty crest's did shake
Then tell me Sirs, for old acquaintance sake,
Wax yee not pale to heare of *Leisters* name,
Or to backebite me blush ye not for shame.

You say in dealings that I was unjust,
As if true Iustice ballance yee could guide,
Had I dealt justly I had turnd to dust
Long before this, your corps swolne vp with pride,
Which now surviving doe my acts deride,
My fame yet liues though death abridgd my daies,
Some of you di'd that over-liu'd your prayse.

Are

Are there not ſome among you Paraſites,
Time-ſervers, and obſervers of no meaſure,
Prince-pleaſers, people-pleaſers, hypocrites,
Dambd Machiavilians giuen to luſt and pleaſure,
Church-robbers, beggers of the Princes treaſure,
Truce-breakers, Pirats, Athieſts, Sicophants,
Can equity dwell heere where conſcience wants.

And yet you thinke none juſtly deales but you,
Divine Aſtrea vp to heauen is fled,
And turnd to Libra, there looke up and view
Her ballance in the zodiacke figured,
Iuſt Ariſtides once was baniſhed,
Where liues his match whom enuy did purſue-
Becauſe men thought he was to juſt and true.

Yee ſay, ambition harbourd in my braine,
I ſay ambition is no heynous ſinne
To men of ſtate, do ſtately thoughts pertaine,
By baſer thoughts what honour can he win,
Who ever did a great exploit begin,
Before ambition moved him to the deed
And hope of honour, urg'd him to proceed.

Themiſtocles had never put to flight,
Zerxes huge hoſt, nor tam'd the Perſians pride,
Nor ſad King *Tarſus* got by martiall fight,
The Romane ſpoyles with conqueſt on his ſide,
If firſt ambition had not beene their guide,
Had not this humor their ſtout hearts allure,
To high attempts their fame had beene obſcure.

The Eagle doth diſdaine to catch poore flyes,
The Lyon with the Ape doth ſcorne to play,
The Dolphin doth the whirlpoole low diſpiſe,
Thus if Birds, Beaſts, and Fiſhes beare ſuch ſway,
If they would teach vnderlings to obey,
Much more ſhould men whom reaſon doth adorne,
Be noble minded and baſe fortunes ſcorne.

Admit I could dissemble wittily,
This is no grievous sinne in men of state;
Dissembling is a point of policie
Plaine dealing now growes stale and out of date:
Wherefore I oft conceal'd my private hate
Till I might find fit time though long I stay'd
To wreake the wrath that in my heart I layd.

Th'old Proverbe is, plaine dealing is a jewell,
And he that useth it a Begger dyes,
The world is now adayes become so cruell
That Courtiers doe plaine Country-men despise,
Quicke wits and cunning heads doe quickly rise.
And to be plaine, yee must not plainly deale
That office seeke in Court or Common-weale.

Now *Aristippus* is in more request
That knew the way to please a Monarchs mind,
Then that poore cynicke swad that us'd to jest
At every idle knave that he could find,
To unkind friends yee must not be too kind:
This is a maxime which to you I give,
Men must dissemble or they cannot live.

Yee say, I was a coward in the field,
I say it fits not such a noble wight
To whom his Countrey doth the title yeeld
Of Lord-Lieutenant with full power and might
To venture his owne person in the fight:
Let others dye, which as our vassailes serve
While heaven for better haps our hopes preserve.

How soone did Englands joy in France diminish
When th'Earle of Salisbury at Orleance
By Gun-shot stroke, his honour'd life did finish;
When *Talbot* that did oftentimes advance
The English ensignes in disgrace of France,
Was at the last invironed and slaine
Whose name the French-mens terror doth remaine

And

And what a fatall wound did Rome receive
By *Craſſus* death whom faithleſſe Parthians ſlew,
How did the Senate for *Flaminius* grieve
And for *Æmilius* death, and his ſtout crew,
Whom *Hanniball* at Cannes did ſubdue:
Cut off an arme, yet life the heart may cherish
Cut of the head and every part will perish.

Ipocrates th'Athenian us'd to ſay,
Vaunt-currers are like hands to battell preſt
The men of armes are feet whereon to ſtay,
The ſoomen as the ſtomach and the breſt,
The captaine as the head above the reſt:
The head once craſed troubleth all the parts,
The Generall ſlaine doth kill ten thouſand hearts.

Therefore a Lord Lieutenant ſhould take care
That he in ſafety doe himſelfe repoſe
And ſhould not hazard life at every dare,
But watch and ward, ſo *Fabius* tir'd his foes
When raſh *Minutus* did the conqueſt loſe:
It ſuch in open danger will intrude
It is found raſhneſſe and not fortitude.

Yee ſay, I was laſcivious in my love
And that I tempted many a gallant Dame,
Not ſo content, But I did alſo prove
To winne their handmaids if I lik'd the game,
Why ſirs yee know, love kindles ſuch a flame
As if we may believe what Poets pen
It doth inchant the hearts of Gods and men.

Iove lov'd the daughter of a jealous ſire
Danae a maid immured within a tower,
Yet to accompliſh th'end of his deſire
He metamorphiz'd to a golden ſhower
Fell in the lap of his faire Paramour:
And being tearm'd a god did not diſdaine
To turne to man, to beaſt, and ſhowre of raine.

Deare

Deere Lords, when Cupid throwes his fiery darts
Doth none of them your tender bodies hit,
Doth *Citherea* never charme your hearts,
Nor beauty try your quinteſſentiall wit
Perhaps you will ſay no, fie 'tis unfit,
Now by my Garter, and my *George* to boot,
The blind God ſurely hits, if he doth ſhoote.

Whereas ye doe object my Magick charmes,
I ſought to winne faire dames to my deſire,
'Tis better ſo then ſtrive by force of Armes
For forced love will quickly backe retire
If faire meanes cannot winne what we require:
Some ſecret tricks and ſleights muſt be deviſed
That love may even from Hell be exercised.

To you dull wit it ſeemes impoſſible
By drinkes or charmes this worke to paſſe to bring,
Know then that *Giges* were invisible
By turning the ſigill of his Ring
Toward his palme and thereby ſlew the King,
Lay with his wife of any man unſeene
Laſtly did raigne by marrying with the queene.

King *Salomon* for Magick naturall
Was held a cunning man by ſome Divines,
He wrote a booke of Science naturall
To bind ill Spirits in their darke confines
He had great ſtore of wives and Concubines,
Yet was a Sacred King, this I inferre
The wiſeſt man that now doth live may erre.

Alſo yee ſay, that when I waxed old
When age and time miſpent had made me dry,
For ancient, held in carnall Luſt is cold,
Natures defect with Art I did ſupply
And that did helpe this imbecility,
I uſ'd ſtrong drinks and Oyntments of great price,
Whoſe taſte or touch might make dead fleſh ariſe

To

To this I anſwer : that thoſe fine extractions,
Drams and electuaries finely made,
Serv'd not ſo much to helpe veneriall actions,
As for to comfort nature that's decaid :
Which being with indifferent judgment weigh'd,
In noble men may be allowed I truſt,
As tending to their health, not to their luſt.

What if I drinke nothing but liquid gold,
Lactrina, chriſtal, pearle reſolv'd in wine,
Such as th'Egyptians full cups did hold,
When *Cleopatra* with her Lord did dine;
A trifle, care not, for the coſt was mine ?
What if I gave Hippomenes to drinke
To ſome fair Dames, at ſmal faults you muſt winke?

Ye ſay I was a traytor to the Queene,
And that when *Monſieur* was in greateſt grace,
I being out of favour, mov'd with ſpleene,
To ſee a Frenchman frolique in the place,
Forth toward Barwick then did poſt apace,
Minding to raile up a rebellious rout,
To take my part in what I went about.

That I was then a traytor I deny,
But I confeſſe that I was *Monſieurs* foe,
And ſought to breake the league of amity,
Which then betwixt my Prince and him did grow,
Doubting Religion might be changed ſo,
Or that our Lawes and cuſtomes were in danger,
To be corrupt or altered by a ſtranger:

Therefore I did a faction ſtrong maintaine,
Againſt the Earle of *Suſſex*, a ſtout Lord
On *Monſieurs* ſide, and then Lord Chamberlain,
Who ſought to make that nuptiall accord,
Which none may breake, witneſſe the ſacred Word:
But thus it chanced, that he ſtriv'd in vaine
To knit that knot which heaven did not ordaine.

Thus did ye mis-interpret my conceits,
That for disloyalty my deeds did blame,
Yet many men have laid their secret baits,
T'intrap me in such snares to work my shame,
Whom I in time sufficiently did tame;
And by my Soveraignes favour bore them downe,
Proving my selfe true Liegeman to the Crowne.

Thinke yee I could forget my Soveraigne Lady,
That was to me so gracious and so kinde?
How many triumphs for her glory made I?
O I could never blot out of my minde,
What Characters of grace in her have shin'd.
But some of you, which were by her prefer'd,
Have with her bones almost her name inter'd.

When she was gone, which of you all did weep?
What mournfull song did *Philomela* sing?
Alas! when she in deaths cold bed did sleep,
Which of you all her dolefull knell did ring?
How long will yee now love your crowned King,
If you so soon forget your old Queen dead,
Which foure and fourty yeares hath governed?

Yee say, *I* sought by murder to aspire,
And by strong poyson many men to slay,
Which as ye thought might crosse my high desire,
And cloud my long expected golden day,
Perhaps *I* laid some blocks out of my way,
Which hindred me from comming to the Bower,
Where *Cynthia* shin'd like lamps in *Pharohs* tower.

Alas! *I* came not of a Tygers kinde,
My hands with bloud *I* hated to defile;
But when by good experience *I* did finde,
How some with fained love did me beguile,
Perchance all pitty then *I* did exile;
And as it were against my will, was prest
To seek their deaths that did my life detest.

Lo then, attend to heare a dolefull tale
Of those whose death yee doe suppose I wrought,
Yet wish I that the world beleeve not all
That hath of me by envious men been wrought,
But when I for a Kingly fortune sought,
O pardon me, my life I might forget,
And cast downe some, my state aloft to set.

My first wife fell downe from a paire of staires,
And brake her neck, and so at Comner dy'd,
Whilst her true servants led with small affaires,
Unto a Faire at Abingdon did ride,
This dismall hap did to my wife betide;
Whether yee call it chance or destiny,
Too true it is, she d d untimely dye.

O had I now a showre of teares to shed,
Lockt in the empty circles of my eyes,
All could I shed in mourning for the dead,
That lost a spouse so young, so faire, so wise,
So faire a corps so foule a coarse now lies,
My hope t'have married with a famous Queene,
Drave pitty back, and kept my teares unseene.

What man so fond that would not lose a Pearle
To finde a Diamond, leave brasse for gold:
Or who would not forsake a gallant girle,
To win a Queen, great men in awe to hold,
To rule the state, and of none be control'd?
O but the steps that lead unto a throne,
Are dangerous for men to tread upon.

The Cardinall *Chatillion* was my foe,
Whose death peradventure did compact,
Because he let Queen *Elizabeth* to know
My false report given of a former act,
How I with her had made a precontract.
And the great Princes hope I bar'd thereby,
That sought to marry with her Majesty.

The Prelate had bin better held his tongue,
And kist his holy Fathers feet in Rome:
A Masse the sooner for his soule was sung;
But he might thanke me, had he staid at home,
Or late or never he to heaven had come:
Therefore I sent him nimbly from the coasts,
Perhaps to supper with the Lord of hosts.

When death by hap my first wives neck had crackt,
And that my suit unto the Queene ill sped,
It chanced that I made a post contract,
And did in sort the Lady *Sheffield* wed,
Of whom I had two goodly children bred:
For the Lord *Sheffield* died as I was sure,
Of a Catarre, which physicke could not cure.

Some thinke the rhume was artificiall,
Which this good Lord before his end did take:
Tush, what I gave to her was naturall,
My plighted troth yet some amends did make,
Though her at length, unkinde I did forsake;
She must not blame me, for a higher reach
Made my sure promise finde a sudden breach.

The valiant Earle whom absent I did wrong,
In breaking Hymeneus holy band;
In Ireland did protract the time too long,
Whilst some in England ingled under hand,
And at his coming homeward to this land
He dyed with poyson, as they say, infected,
Not without cause, for vengeance I suspected:

Because this fact notorious scandall bred,
And for I did his gallant wife abuse;
To salve this sore when this brave Lord was dead,
I for my selfe did this faire Lady chuse,
And flesh is fraile, deare Lady me excuse;
It was pure love that made me undertake,
This hapless recontract with thee to make.

Now

Now in Joves pallace that good Lord doth ſup,
And drinke full bowles of Nectar in the ſkie.
Hunnies his page, that taſted of that cup,
Did onely looſe his haire, and did not dye;
True-noble Earle, thy fame to heaven doth flye.
He doth repent his fault, and pardon crave,
That marr'd thy bed and too ſoon made thy grave:

Thou didſt behinde thee leave a matchleſſe Sonne,
A peerel ſſe paterne for all princely peeres,
Whoſe ſparks of glory in my time begun,
Kindled with hope, flam'd highly in few yeeres,
But death him ſtruck, and drown'd this land in teares;
His Sonne doth live true image of him dead,
To grace this ſoil, where ſhowers of tears were ſhed.

They were to blame that ſaid the Queen ſhould marry
With me her Horſ keeper, for ſo they call'd me.
But thou *Throgmarton* which this tale didſt carry
From France to England, haſt more ſharply gall'd me,
Sith my good Queene in office high extold me;
For I was Maſter of her Higheſſe Horſe,
I ſcorne thy words, which did my hate inforce.

But tell me then, how didſt thou like thy fare,
When I to ſupper laſt did thee invite?
If I did rid thee of a world of care,
By giving thee a Salet, gentle Knight,
With gaſtly lookes doe not my ſoule affright:
Leſter I was, whom England once did dread,
But now I am like thee *Throgmarton*, dead.

My Lord of Suffex was too cholerick,
That call'd me traitor and a traitors ſonne;
But I ſerv'd him a fine Italian trick;
Had not I done ſo, I had bin undone;
Now marke the end, what conqueſt hath he won?
A litle ſcruple that to him I ſent,
Did purge his choler, till his life was ſpent.

He was a gallant Noble man indeed ;
O but his life did ſtill my life decreaſe :
Therefore *I* ſent him with convenient ſpeed,
To reſt amongſt his anceſtors in peace :
my rage was paciſi'd at his deceaſe.
And now *I* come t'imbrace his love too late,
Him did *I* love, whom living *I* did hate.

I came to viſit as *I* chanc'd to walke
My Lady of Lenox, whom *I* found not well,
I took her by the hand, had private talke,
And ſo departed, a ſhort tale to tell :
When I was gone, into a flux ſhe fell,
That never ceaſt her company to keep,
Till it had brought her to a ſenſleſſe ſleep.

I dream'd ſhe had not many dayes to live ;
And this my dreame did ſhortly fall out true,
So as her Ghoſtly Father I did give
Some comfort to her ſoule : for well *I* knew
That ſhe would ſhortly bid the world adiew.
Some ſay *I* gave ſuch phyſick as did ſpill her;
But I ſuppoſe that meere conceit did kill her.

Some will object perhaps, I did pretend
To meet the Earle of Ormond on a day,
In ſingle fight our quarrell for to end ;
But did command my ſervant *Killygray*,
To lye in ambuſh that ſtout Lord to ſlay.
But heaven did not conſent to work his ſpoile,
That was the glory of the Iriſh ſoile.

Perhaps *I* doubted that I was too weake,
And loath I was he ſhould the conqueſt win :
If in this cauſe I did my promiſe breake,
I hope men will not count it for a ſin ;
Is it not good to ſleep in a whole skin ?
When *Hannibal* could not prevaile by blowes,
He uſed ſtratagems to kill his foes.

If

If I the death of Monſieur *Simiers* fought,
When he from France Ambaſſadour was ſent,
I had juſt cauſe to ſeeke it as I thought;
For towards me he bore no good intent;
Had he not fled betimes, perhaps I ment
T'have ſent him in embaſſage for my pleaſure
To the black king that keeps Avernus treaſure.

For when no man about the Court durſt ſpeak,
That I the Lady *Lettice* married,
This pratling Frenchman firſt the ice did breake,
And to the Queene the fact diſcovered;
Which not without juſt cauſe the anger bred:
Thus th'ape did play his part controul'd of none,
When he eſpi'd the Beare from home was gone.

One *Salvadore* an Italian borne,
Having once watcht with me till mid'ſt of night,
Was found ſlaine in his bed the next day morne:
Alas poore man I rue his wofull plight,
That did in nothing but in ſinne delight:
Had he to honeſt actions bent his wit,
He might have longer liv'd and ſcap'd this fit.

But what reward ſhould ſuch a man expect,
Whom gold to any lewdneſſe could entice,
Ones turne once ſerv'd, why ſhould we not reject
So vilde an inſtrument of damned vice?
What if he were diſpatched in a trice?
Was it not better this mans blood to ſpill,
Then let him live the world with ſinne to fill?

I doubted leſt that *Doughty* would bewray
My counſell, and with others party take;
Wherefore, the ſooner him to rid away,
I ſent him forth to ſea with Captaine *Drake*,
Who knew how t'entertain him for my ſake;
Before he went his lot by me was caſt,
His death was plotted, and perform'd in haſt.

He hoped well; but I did so disposse,
That he at Port St. *Iulian* lost his head,
Having no time permitted to disclose
The inward griefes that in his heart were bred:
We need not feare the biting of the dead:
Now let him goe transported to the seas,
And tell my secrets to th'Antipodes.

My servant *Gates* did speed as ill or worse,
To whom I did my close intents impart,
And at his need with money stuft his purse,
And wil'd him still take courage at his heart;
Yet in the end he felt the deadly smart:
He was inveigled by some subtle witted,
To rob; so he was taken and committed.

Of pardon I did put him still in hope,
When he of felony was guilty found,
And so condemn'd, till his last friend the Pope
Did him uphold from falling to the ground.
What hope of grace where vice did so abound.
He was beguil'd like birds that use to gape
At *Zeuxes* table for a painted grape.

Yet I did to the man no injury,
And gave him time and leasure to repent,
And well he knew he had deserv'd to dye,
Therefore all future mischiefe to prevent,
I let him slip away with my consent:
For his reprivall, like a crafty Fox,
I sent no pardon but an empty Box.

Else as unfaithfull *Banester* betraid
The Duke of Buckingham his Master deare,
When he of *Richards* tyranny afraid,
Fled to his servants house for succour there:

So

So might my man for gaine, or forc'd for feare,
Have brought my corps with ſhame unto my grave,
By too much truſting on a paltry knave.

Me ſeems at me great Norfolkes Duke doth frowne,
Becauſe he thinkes I did his death contrive,
Perſwading ſome he aimed at the Crowne,
And that by royall match he meant to ſtrive
A kingdome to his Lordſhip to revive.
Alas good Duke! he was too meek and milde,
And I too faithleſſe that his truſt beguil'd.

For that I found his humour firſt was bent
To take the Scots captived Queen to wife,
I egg'd him on to follow his intent,
That by this meanes I might abridge his life,
And ſhe a crowned Queen to ſtint all ſtrife,
Firſt finding Scotland loſt, to England fled,
Where ſhe in hope of ſuccour loſt head.

O bleſſed Spirits, live yee evermore
In heavenly Sion, where your maker reignes,
And give me leave my fortunes to deplore,
That am faſt fetterd with ſins iron chaines.
Mans moſt ſweet joys are mixt with ſome foul pains.
And doth he live of high or low degree,
In life or death that can from woe be free?

Ah now my tongue growes weary to recite
Such maſſacres as have been here expreſt,
Whoſe ſad remembrance doth afflict my ſpright,
Me thinkes I ſee legions of ſoules to reſt
In *Abrahams* boſome, and my ſelfe oppreſt.
The burden of my ſinnes doe weigh me downe,
At me the fiends doe laugh, and Angels frowne.

My crimes I grant were great and manifold,
Yet not so heynous as men make report,
But flattering Parasites are growne so bold
That they of Princes matters make a sport,
To please the humors of the vulgar sort:
And that poore peevish giddieheaded crue,
Are prone to credit any tale untrue.

Let those that live endeavour to live well,
Least after death like mine their guilt remaine;
Let no man thinke there is no Heaven or Hell,
Or with the impious Sadduces maintaine
That after death no flesh shall rise againe:
Let no man trust on Fortunes fickle wheele,
The guerdon due for sinne I partly feele.

Know that the Prince of heavenly Saraphins,
When he 'gainst his Creator did rebell,
Was tumbled downe for his presumptuous sinne;
Sathan that once was blest like lightning fell
From the highest heaven, to the deepest hell:
And all those Angells that his part did take,
Have now their portion in the burning lake.

Of mighty heapes of treasure I could vant,
For I reapt profit out of every thing,
I could the Prince and peoples hearts inchant,
With my faire words and smoothfac'd flattering,
And out of drosse pure gold I oft did wring:
For though the meanes to win be oft unmeet,
The smell of lucre ever smelleth sweet.

So I somtimes had very much good hap
Great suites of my dread Soveraigne to obtaine,
Prodigall fortune powr'd down from her lap,
Angels of gold as thick as drops in raine.
Such was my luck to finde the golden veine;
Likewise with me it seemed nothing strange,
Both tents and lands oft with my Prince to change.

I had another way t'inrich my ſelfe
By geting licences for me alone,
For Wine, Oyle, Velvet, Cloath, and ſuch like pelfe,
By licences to alienation,
By raiſing rents, and by oppreſſion:
By claiming Forreſts, Paſtures, Commons, Woods,
And forfeiture of lands, of life and goods.

By this ſtrong courſe alſo I greatly thrived
In falling out with my deere Soveraigne,
For I the Plot ſo cunningly contrived,
That reconcilement ſoone was made againe,
And by this meanes great gifts I did obtaine:
For that I might my bags the better fill,
I beg'd great ſuites as pledge of new goodwill.

Beſides ſometimes I did encreaſe my ſtore,
By benefit that I from Oxford tooke,
Electing heads of houſes heretofore,
I lov'd their money, and they lov'd their booke,
Some poorer though more learned I forſooke:
For in theſe daies your charity was cold,
Little was done for love, but much for gold.

Doubtleſſe my Father was a valiant Peere
In *Edward* the ſixt daies when he was ſent,
Gainſt Rebells that did riſe in Norfolke ſhire.
And after that when he to Scotland went,
Under the Lord Protectors Regiment;
By notable exploits againſt the Scot,
Eternall glory to himſelfe he got.

Truly ambition was his greateſt fault,
Which commonly in noble hearts is bred,
He thought the never could his ſtate exalt
Till the good Duke of Sumerſet was dead,
Who by my Fathers meanes did loſe his head:
So ill the race of *Dudlies* could endure
The *Seymors* lives which did their fame obſcure.

When

When once King *Edward* at the butt had shot,
My Father sayd, your Grace shoots neere the mark,
The King repli'd, but not so neere I wot,
As when you shot my Vncles head off quite:
The duke my Father knew the King said right,
And that he ment this matter to debate
If ere hee liv'd to come to mans estate.

It seemes my Father in times past had been
A skillfull Archer, though no learned clerke,
So strange a chance as this is seldome seen,
I doe suppose he shot not in the dark,
That could so quickly hit so faire a mark:
Nor have I mist my aime, nor worse have sped,
When I shot off the Duke of Norfolks head.

Now when the Duke of Somerset was dead,
My Father to the French did Bulloigne sell,
As pleased him the King he governed,
And from the privy counsell did depell
Th'earles of Southampton, and of Arundell:
Thus whilst he ruled and controuled all.
The wise young King extreamly sick did fall.

Who having languisht long, of life deprived,
Not without poison as it was suspected;
The counsell through my Fathers meanes contrived
That Suffolks Daughter should be Queen elected,
The Sisters of King *Edward* were rejected:
My brother *Guilford* to *Iane Gray* was wedded,
Too high preferr'd that was so soone beheaded.

This Lady *Iane* that once was tearmed Queeen,
Greater in fame then fortune, was put downe,
Had not King *Henries* Daughters living been,
Might for her vertues have deserv'd a Crowne;
Fortune at once on her did smile and frowne:
Her wedding garment for a Princes meet
Was quickly changed for a winding sheet.

For

For I was iump of *Iulius Cæsars* minde
That could no one superior Lord endure,
Nay I to guide my Soveraigne was inclin'd,
And bring the common people to my lure,
Accounting that my fortune was obscure,
And that I lived in a wofull plight
If any one eclipst my glorious light.

The love to reigne makes many men respect
Neither their friend, their kindred, nor their vow,
The love to reigne makes many men neglect
The duty which to God and man they ow,
From out this fountaine many mischeifes flow:
Hereof examples many may be read
In Chronicles of th'Englisn Princes dead.

This humor made King *Harold* break his oath
Made unto *William* Duke of Normandy:
This made King *Rufus* and young *Beauclark* both
Their elder Brother *Robert* to defie,
And *Stephen* to forget his loialty
To *Maud* the Empresse, and to hold in scorne
The faithfull oath which he to her had sworne.

This made yonng *Henry* crowned by his sire,
Against his Father Warfare to maintaine:
This made King *Iohn* the kingdome to aspire,
Which to his Nephew *Arthur* did pertaine,
And him in prison hardly to retaine:
And this made *Bullingbrook* t'usurp the Crowne,
Putting his lawfull Soveraigne *Richard* downe.

This made *Edward* the fourth at his returne
From Burgundy, when he to Yorke was come,
To break the oath which he had lately sworne,
And rule the Realme in good King *Henries* roome;
This made the Tyrant *Richard* eke to doome
His Nephewes death, and rid away his wife,
And so in blond to end his wretched life.

A prety plot in practice I did put,
Either to take a Queene without delay,
Or when the cards were shuffled and well cut,
To chuse the King and cast the knaves away;
He should be cunning that great game would play;
Ill luck hath he that no good game can make,
When Princes play and crownes lye at the stake.

Firſt I aſſayed Queene *Elizabeth* to wed,
Whom divers Princes courted, but in vaine;
When in this courſe unluckily I ſped,
I ſought the Scots Queenes mariage to obtaine;
But when I reapt no profit for my paine,
I ſought to match Denbigh my tender childe
To Dame *Arbella*, but I was beguil'd.

Even as *Octavius* with *Marke Anthony*,
And *Lepidus* the Roman Empire ſhar'd,
That of the world then held the ſoveraignty,
So I a new Triumverat prepar'd,
If death a while yong Denbighs life had ſpar'd,
The grandame, uncle and the father in law,
Might thus have brought all England under awe.

In the low Countries did my fame ſoare high,
When I was ſent Lievtenant generall,
The Queenes proud foes I ſtoutly did deny,
And made them to ſome compoſition fall,
There I maintained port majeſticall;
In pompe and triumph many dayes I ſpent,
From noble then my name grew excellent,

Then was my heart in height of his deſire,
My minde puft up with ſurquedry and pride:
The vulgar ſort my glory did admire,
Even as the Romans *Ave Cæſar* cri'd,
When the Emperour to the Senat houſe did ride;
So did the Flemings with due reverence,
Like thunder ſay, God ſave your Excellence.

Few

Few Subjects before me obtain'd this ſtile,
Unleſſe they were as Viceroyes of this land:
The name of Lordſhip ſeem'd too baſe and vile,
To me that govern'd ſuch a royall band,
And had a Princes abſolute command:
Who did not of my puiſſance ſtand in awe,
That might put him to death by martiall law?

Loe, what a title hath my honour got,
And Excellency added to my name?
Can this injurious world ſo quickly blot
A name ſo great out of records of fame,
Covering my glory with a vale of ſhame?
Or will it now contemne me being dead,
Whom living even with feare it honoured?

The towne of Densborough I did beſiege,
Which did on compoſition ſhortly yeeld:
I did good ſervice to my gracious liege,
Till by ill councellours I was beguil'd:
For ſuch as were my Captains in the field,
To whom at length chiefe charge I did commit,
Seduced me to many things unfit.

When Sir *Iohn Norris* counſell I refuſed,
Whoſe perfect skill in feats of armes I knew,
By *Rowland Yorkes* device I was abuſed,
Whereon ſome loſſe ſoone after did enſue;
Deventer towne and Zutphen ſconce I rue,
By *Yorke* and *Stanley* without many blowes,
Were rendred to the mercy of the foes.

And that which to my heart might more griefe ſtrike,
Happened the death of that renowned Knight,
My Nephew *Sidney*, neere Coleſton dike
Receav'd his deadly wound through fortunes ſpight,
I ſent no freſh ſupply to him in fight;
I was not farre off with a mighty hoſt:
So with his loſſe of life ſome fame I loſt.

The

The Court in him lost a brave Courtier;
The Countrey lost a guide, their faults to mend;
The Campe did loose an expert Souldier;
The City lost an honourable friend:
The Schooles a patron, their right to defend:
The Court, the Countrey, the Schools & City,
For *Sidneys* death still sing a mournfull ditty.

Now while my princely glory did abound,
Like rich *Lucullus* I great feasts did make,
And was for hospitality renown'd:
The use of armes I quickly did forsake;
An easier taske I ment to undertake:
I tooke no joyes in wounds and broken pates,
But to carouse and banquet with the States.

Not *Heliogabalus*, whose dainty fare,
Did all the Roman Emperours feast exceed
In cost and rareneſſe, might with mine compare,
Though he on braines of Ostriches did feed
And Phenicopteines, and that instead
Of oyle he us'd his lamps with balme to fill:
Such was the pleasure of this tyrants will.

To me Count *Egmounts* daughter did resort,
Of such brave Dames as Flanders still did yeeld;
That it did rather seeme I came to court
A gallant Lady, then to pitch a field;
For I did lay aside the sword and shield:
At cards and dice I spent the vacant dayes,
And made great feasts, instead of martial fraies

But whilst in games and love my time I spent,
Seeming secure, as though I car'd for nought:
My messengers abroad I daily sent,
As instruments of my still working thought,
Whereby my purpose oft to passe I brought,
And compasse what before I did devise,
At such a time as no man will surmise.

Thus

Thus great attempts I oft did enterprise,
Like a Magician that with some fine wile
Dazles the sight of the spectators eyes,
And with illusions doth their sense beguile,
Such policies my cunning did compile,
That I before mens eyes did cast a mist,
While I perform'd such matters as I list.

Ye that like apes doe imitate my deeds,
Hoping thereby like favour to obtaine;
Know that so high a spirit never breeds
In a blunt peasant, or unnurtured swaine,
But in my heart imperious thoughts did reigne:
No flegmatick dull milk-sop can aspire,
But one compact of th'element of fire.

He daily must devise some stratagem,
He must be rich, stout, liberall, and wise,
The humours of base men he must contemne,
He must be gracious in the peoples eyes,
He should be furnisht with rare qualities,
With learning, judgement, policy and wit,
And such like parts as for the time are fit.

For every forward fellow is not borne
To be a *Scipio* or a *Maximus*,
Unlesse that wisedome doth his state adorne,
Or valour make his life more glorious,
Though he be base of birth like *Marius*,
Yet he by vertues aid aloft may come,
Like him that was seven times Consull in Rome.

Ventidius name at first was meane and base,
Till he the Parthians host had overthrowne,
And *Cicero* came not of noble race,
Borne at Arpinia a poore country towne,
Yet he made armes give place unto the gowne.
And Rome by his great wisdome freed from spoile,
Call'd him the father of their native soile.

Perhaps young Courtiers learne ſomething to ſing,
To skip or dance before their Miſtris face,
To touch like *Orpheus* ſome inchanting ſtring,
To run at tilt, to jet with ſtately pace,
Or by ſome fine diſcourſe to purchaſe grace,
But cannot manage the affaires of State,
Which beſt belongs to each great Potentate.

Liſten to me ye luſty Souldiers,
That in ſuch favour high attempt to grow,
Experience bred in me this manly yeares,
Hath taught me cunning which you doe not know,
Some precepts here I doe intend to ſhow:
And if my Syren ſong pleaſe not great Peeres,
Then may they with *Vlyſſes* ſtop their eares.

Truſt not a friend that is new reconcil'd,
In loves faire ſhew he may hide foule deceit,
By him ye unawares may be begull'd,
Reveale to none your matters of great waight,
If any chance to know your lewd conceit,
Suſpected to bewray your bad intent,
He ought to ſuffer death and baniſhment.

Caligula the ſcourge of famous Rome,
Wiſht all the Romanes had onely one head,
That when he liſt to give their fatall dome,
He might with one great blow ſtrike all them dead,
So ſhould he never need their hate to dread:
Even ſuch a miſchiefe I wiſht to my foes,
That many men might periſh with few blowes.

But unto thoſe that doe your favour ſeeke,
And by your helpe hope their low ſtates to raiſe,
You muſt be courteous, bountifull, and meeke:
Cæſar by clemency won greateſt praiſe,
And was eſteem'd the mirrour of his dayes.
For it belongs to men of great eſtate,
To ſpare the poore, and rich mens mindes abate.

It's ill to be a rub upon that ground
Whereas the Prince the alley meanes to sweep,
Their owne conceits they fondly doe confound,
That into high attempts doe boldly creep,
And with their shallow pates doe wade to deep,
To hinder what their Soveraigne doth intend,
Or to controule what they cannot amend.

Calisthenes much torment did sustaine,
Because great *Alexanders* pride he checkt,
Grave *Seneca* choosing his death was slaine
By *Nero's* doome, whose faults he did correct:
Use not too sharpe rebukes, but have respect
Unto the persons, when great men doe evill,
The vengeance leave to God, or to the devill.

Be not too haughty, pride procureth hate,
And meane mens hate may turne to your disgrace,
Nor too familiar be in high estate,
For that will breed contempt among the base,
Observe a meane which winneth man much grace:
Speake well to all, trust none, use well your foes,
For this may purchase love where hatred growes.

And if that you doe feare your friend should chance
To mount too highly in the Princes grace,
His praise to heaven then stick not to advance,
Say that the charge he beareth is too base,
And that his worth deserves farre better place,
So may you by this praise rid him away,
And so supply his place another day.

Say he will prove a terror in the field,
This private life doth much obscure his fame,
More fit to beare great *Ajax* sevenfold shield,
Then like *Sardanapalus* court a dame,
He idlely lives at home, it is a shame.
His very presence may his foes appall,
Let him be sent Lieutenant Generall.

Now

Now if he chance to perish in some fight,
It was not your worke, but the chance of warres,
Or thus you may excuse your selves by sleight,
Blaming the influence of the angry starres,
That thus by death his future fortune barres,
And (sighing) we are sory, you may say,
That this brave man would cast himselfe away.

But if in feats of armes he have no skill,
If he be learned, wise, and eloquent,
By praising him thus may you have your will,
Procure him in ambassage to be sent
Far off, lest he returne incontinent,
As to the mighty *Cham*, or *Prester Iohn*,
And triumph in his roome when he is gone.

Let no man think I exercis'd the ghost
Of this great Peere that sleepeth in the dust,
Or conjur'd up his spirit to this coast,
To presse him with despaire, or praise unjust:
I am not partiall, but give him his due,
And to his soule I wish eternall health:
Ne doe I think all written tales are true,
That are inserted in his Commonwealth:
What others wrote before, I do survive,
But am not like to those incenst with hate,
And as I plainly write, so doe I strive
To write the truth, not wronging his estate:
Of whom it may be said, and censur'd well,
He both in vice and vertue did excell.

Iamq; opus exegi,
Deus dedit his quoque finem.

FINIS.